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ABSTRACT

The Magazines section of this collection of conference presentations contains the following 15 papers: "'National Geographic Magazine' and the Vietnam War: Did We Just Get Pretty Pictures?" (John W. Williams); "Free Speech at All Costs: A Short History of 'The Masses'" (Chris Lamb); "Newspapers Locally Edited Magazines Seek Ways to Maintain Place in Market" (Ernest C. Hynds); "Patriotism and Profits: A Content Analysis of World War II Magazine Advertising Containing War Themes" (Mike Sweeney); "Journalistic Standards Reflected in Letters to the Editor, News Articles, and Editorials of the Muckraking Era" (Brian Thornton); "Effects of Exemplification in Magazine Journalism on the Perception of Social Issues" (Dolf Zillmann and others); "Economic Coverage of China before and after the Cold War in 'Time,' 'Newsweek' and 'U.S. News & World Report.'" (Shang-Fen Huang); "The Information Society under Construction: Retail Credit and the Mythos of Technology" (Joe Arena); "'Atlanta' Magazine Has Reported, Reflected, Influenced Its City's Remarkable Growth" (Ernest C. Hynds); "Women and the 'Larger Household': An Examination of Muckraking in Women's Magazines" (Kathleen L. Endres); "The Obsession with Thinness in the Ballet World: An Analysis of How 'Dance Magazine' Addresses the Issue" (Alexis Moor); "Teenagers Get 'Sassy': An Analysis of the Current Teen Magazine Market" (Debra Ceffalio); "How News Magazines Frame Coverage When Presidents Want to Tax and Spend" (Hugh J. Martin); "The Performance of Black Music on 'Billboard' Magazine's Pop Music Charts" (Jim Sernoe); and "Is the Cover a Mirror?: An Analysis of Changes in Economic News Contents in 'Time' and 'Newsweek'" (David Abels). (NKA)

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ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

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Part IX: Magazines

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE AND THE VIETNAM WAR:

DID WE JUST GET PRETTY PICTURES?

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE AND THE VIETNAM WAR:
DID WE JUST GET PRETTY PICTURES?

INTRODUCTION

Vietnam was a quagmire for America[1] and for its press.[2] Press coverage of the war has been subjected to intense and often controversial scrutiny.[3] In particular, scholars have examined the elite or prestige press, including the three major networks[4] and the leading news magazines.[5] Research interest in television is understandable given Vietnam was apparently not a major topic in the news magazines. Network news devoted up to 25% of its coverage to Vietnam-related stories while the news magazines

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1. David Halberstam, The Making of a Quagmire (New York: Random House, 1965).
2. Edwin Emery, "The Press in the Vietnam Quagmire," Journalism Quarterly, 48(4), 619-626 (1971); Dale Minor, The Information War (New York: Hawthorn Books and Tower Publications, 1970).
3. Peter Braestrup, The Big Story: How the American Press and Televsiion Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington, 2nd. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983); Robert Elegant, "How to Lose a War: Reflection of a Foreign Correspondent," Encounter (August 1981), 73-90; "Part II: the Journalists," in Harrison E. Salisbury, ed., Vietnam Reconsidered: Lessons from a War (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1984), 81-176.
4. Michael Arlen, Living Room War (New York: The Viking Press, 1969); George A. Bailey and Lawrence W. Lichty, "Rough Justice on a Saigon Stree: A Gatekeeper Study of NBC's Tet Execution Film," Journalism Quarterly, 49(2), 221-229, 238 (1972); Richard A. Pride and Gary L. Wamsley, "Symbol Analysis of Network Coverage of Laos Incursion," Journalism Quarterly, 49(4), 635-640, 647 (1972); George Bailey, "Interpretive Reporting of the Vietnam War by Anchormen," Journalism Quarterly, 53(2), 319-324 (1976); Anthony A. Adams, "A Study of Veteran Viewpoints on TV Coverage of the Vietnam War," Journalism Quarterly, 54(2), 248-253 (1977).
5. Oscar Patterson III, "Television's Living Room War in Print: Vietnam in the News Magazines," Journalism Quarterly, 61(1), 35-39, 136 (1984); Michael D. Sherer, "Vietnam War Photos and Public Opinion," Journalism Quarterly, 66(2), 391-395, 530 (1989).

devoted less than 7% of their space to Vietnam.[6] However, very little analysis has been conducted of the coverage of Vietnam beyond the prestige press.[7] Furthermore, these studies have focused on a narrow span of years,[8] though scholars recognize that the war went through many phases and American involvement extends back into the early 1950s.[9]

Studies of print coverage of America's involvement in Vietnam have found almost simultaneous shifts in American public opinion and the editorial positions and content of magazines.[10] However, they draw contradictory inferences about the role of magazines in leading or following public opinion.[11] Showalter concluded that "the

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6. Patterson, op. cit. at 39.
7. Thomas V. DiBacco, "The Business Press and Vietnam: Ecstasy or Agony?," Journalism Quarterly, (3), 426-435 (1968) (study of 33 business periodicals); Stuart W. Showalter, "American Magazine Coverage of Objectors to the Vietnam War," Journalism Quarterly, 53(4), 648-652, 688 (1976) (study of 21 "popular" magazines).
8. Bailey, 1965-1970, op. cit.; DiBacco, 1964-1967, op. cit.; Patterson, 1968-1973, op. cit.; Showalter, 1964-1972, op. cit.; Sherer, 1965-1973, op. cit.
9. The French attempted to reassert colonial control over Indochina (the region encompassing Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) after the defeat of the Japanese in 1945. The Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh, eventually defeated the French in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu. The 1954 Geneva accords ended the First Indochina War, led to the withdrawal of the French and the temporary partition of Vietnam into North and South. The first American advisory group was established in 1956. Guerrilla pressure against the Diem government in South Vietnam was focused with the establishment of the National Liberation Front in 1960. Diem was assassinated in 1963. The military advisory group became MACV in 1962 and Gen. William Westmoreland was appointed its chief in January 1964. Full scale American involvement followed the Tonkin Gulf incident and subsequent Congressional resolution in August 1964. The first combat troops came ashore march 1965. January 1968 brought the shock of the Tet Offensive and the battles for Hue and Khe Sanh. The Cambodian invasion of 1970 preceded "Vietnamization" of the conflict, and the Christmas bombing of 1972 led to the 1973 peace accords. Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane fell to the communist forces in April 1975.
10. E.M. Schreiber, "American Public Opinion and the War in Vietnam, 1964-1968," unpublished doctoral dissertation (Princeton University, 1971); James D. Wright, "Life, Time and the Fortunes of War," Transaction, 9, 42-52 (January, 1972); Showalter, op. cit.; Scherer, op. cit. at 530.
11. Wright claims that the media "succeeding effecting enormous opinion conversions among high status groups," op. cit. at 48, while Schreiber states, "There was little

data suggest that public opposition to the war followed increased editorial support in popular periodicals for opponents of the war."12 This appears contrary to Patterson's findings that in the period 1968-1973 Vietnam did not dominate magazine copy nor did the coverage get more "bloody" over time. He acknowledged that his analysis did not explain the reported shift in American public opinion.13 The 1968 Tet offensive marked the turning point in the American public's mood.14 Epstein argues that until Tet the public was presented only with images of a "clean, effective technological war."15

Following Patterson's urging16, this study extends our understanding of the press' coverage of the Vietnam conflict by examining the coverage of the war and of the region by the National Geographic Magazine. Patterson argued that magazine photography of war has a more lasting impression on the American public than did television images. He noted that four of the six images most remembered as symbols of the war were first published in news magazines.17 If the Vietnam War was a pictorial war, National Geographic is certainly noted as a pictorial magazine. At the height of the war, membership of the National Geographic Society was pushing toward

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relationship between the magazines that people read about politics and their opinions on the war in Vietnam." op. cit. at 136. Susan Sontag has spectulated that photographs depicting tragedy and suffering were not made until after public outcry against the war began. On Photography (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1977), at 17-18. Others have argued for a similar position with regard to television news which "only became freer in depicting the miseries of the war after the public mood had changed." Derrik Mercer, Geoff Mungham and Kevin Williams, The Fog of War: The Media on the Battlefield (London: Heinemann, 1987), at 230.

12. Showalter, op. cit. at 688.
13. Patterson, op. cit. at 39.
14. Braestrup, op. cit.
15. Edward Epstein, Between Fact and Fiction: The Problem of Journalism (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), at 217-219.
16. "[I]t is necessary for us to continue research into the role of the media's coverage of the Vietnam experience as well as analysis of that coverage." Patterson, op. cit., at 39.
17. Ibid., at 35.

six million. By its nature as a coffee table magazine, National Geographic certainly reaches more readers than just Society members. It has been suggested that the amount of media attention given to an issue strongly influences its visibility to the public.18 As a result, this study of National Geographic's coverage of Vietnam and Indochina is relevant. The underlying questions directing this study are what was National Geographic's coverage of Indochina and Vietnam; how did its of Vietnam change, particularly as public support for the war shifted; and, was its coverage "clean," at least unitl the Tet offensive?

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE

"One does not think of the Geographic, with its slow, leisurely, cautious, researched manner of publishing as a journal in which controversial war coverage might emerge."19 This assumption stemmed, in part, from two of founding editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor's editorial guidelines: "nothing of a partisan or controversial character is printed," and "only what is of a kindly nature is printed about any country or people, everything unpleasant or unduly critical being avoid."20 The results of attempting to publish within these guidelines "led, over the years, to accusations that the Geographic viewed the world through rose-colored glasses."21 The Society has acknowledged that its magazine and editors were conservative in how and what they covered.22

However, according to the Society's official history, the magazine published the first photographs of servicemen fighting in Vietnam in a November 1962 article by

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18. G. Ray Funkhauser, "The Issues of the Sixties: An Exploratory Study in the Dynamics of Public Opinion," Public Opinion Quarterly, 37(1), 62-75 (1973).
19. C.D.B. Bryan, The National Geographic Society: 100 Years of Adventure and Discovery (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1987), p. 275.
20. Ibid., at 265.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid. at 381.

Dickey Chapelle on the "Helicopter War in South Viet Nam."23 A year earlier and three years before the Tonkin Gulf resolution, writer Peter T. White and photographer W.E. Garrett produced "South Viet Nam Fights the Red Tide."

By 1967, nearing the height of the war, the membership of the National Geographic Society and the circulation of the magazine had topped 5.6 million.24 That year Frederick G. Vosburgh succeeded Melville Bell Grosvenor as Editor. Under Vosburgh's leadership, "pictorially, at least, the Magazine began to portray some of the realities of a world."25 By the time of Vosburgh's retirement in 1970 the Society grew to 6.9 million members.26 One of the men responsible for this change was Wilbur Garrett, who as writer and photographer covered a number of the Vietnam stories. By the early Eighties, Garrett had become editor. Under his leadership, the magazine published a series of articles on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, including selections from the book To Heal A Nation. Three months later, Garrett's August 1985 editorial began:

> "I wept...." "My husband cried...." "The pages were wet with my tears..." "I was crying and didn't know why...." "It was the first time I cried over this war, and it felt good."
>
> So wrote five members. They symbolize the hundreds who felt compelled to respond to the articles about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in our May issue. The reader response may eventually be the largest in our magazine's history; there is no question that it is already the most intensely personal.

It was also intensely personal for editor Garrett. "Among those who responded was the widow of Walter H. Moon, the Special Forces Army captain Garrett had last seen alive in Laos in 1961 ordering a reluctant helicopter pilot to get Garrett 'out of here now!'" Mrs. Moon wrote, "My son...was thrilled by your Editor's column,

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23. Ibid. at 275.
24. Ibid. at 351.
25. Ibid. at 381.
26. Ibid.

where you said you had looked for his father's name. He was eight and my daughter was four when Walt left."27

METHODOLOGY

Every article listed in the official index to National Geographic under Vietnam War, the three countries of the Indochina region (Cambodia and its alternative name Kampuchea; Laos; Vietnam, generally, as well as under North and South), the major cities of the region (Phnom Penh, Saigon, Vientiane), as well as alternatives such as refugees (of each nationality) and Vietnam Veteran's Memorial, was identified and examined.

National Geographic articles traditionally have three elements -- text, photographs, and graphics, especially maps and charts. Sometimes the articles are supplemented with artwork, including specially commissioned paintings. First, the articles were categorized by theme -- society, heritage and culture (without reference to war); society and culture under pressure of war; actual war and combat; or impact of war -- refugees and boat people, veterans, impact of war on culture and heritage. Second, the articles were categorized by tone -- "presentational" or "promotional," in the style set forth by the editorial principles of founding editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor and of which we have come to expect of National Geographic; "reportorial" or "revelational," reporting or revealing "unpleasant" or "critical" subjects, contrary to Grosvenor's original editorial guidelines; or "retrospective" or "reflection" on past coverage or the activities of the subjects of past coverage.

The text was measured by the column inch. The National Geographic has maintained the same standard column width throughout its publication history. On occasion, dictated by photograph or map layout needs, the columns have been widened

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27. Ibid. at 449.

or narrowed. The text was measured for total length and for distribution between war and non-war text.

Photographs were categorized by black/white versus color, and non-war setting versus war. The war photographs (and a few paintings) were categorized by preparation for war (such as troops on parade or repairing aircraft), in combat (including helicopters on missions), and results of war (including scenes of destruction, wounded and dead, funerals, hospital scenes). Each of these three subcategories was further subdivided into its predominant subject: Americans, allies (including French and South Vietnamese troops), and the enemy (the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese).28 The non-war photographs were categorized by rural, urban or culture (including artifacts and ruins). The maps and charts were categorized by black/white versus color, map versus chart. The maps were categorized by scope of coverage (local, e.g., city; regional, e.g., province, nation, subcontinent).

The unit of analysis was the page. The photographs, artwork, maps and charts were measured by full page, half page or quarter page, including cutlines.29

RESULTS

The first National Geographic article about the region was published in March 1912. The most recent article in this study was published in October 1988. In nearly eighty years of coverage, National Geographic has published 44 articles on Indochina, 35 of which dealt with themes related to the Vietnam War and its aftermath. Among the articles were two editorials related to the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial and several multi-part articles. National Geographic is noted for its maps, and over the last forty

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28. Scherer, op. cit.; James A. Fosdick, "Picture Content and Source in Four Daily Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly 49, 368-370 (1969).

29. Paul Lester and Ron Smith utilized the same measurement scheme in "African-American Photo Coverage in Life, Newsweek and Time, 1937-1988," Journalism Quarterly, 67(1), 128-136 (1990).

years, it has published four pull-out wall maps of the region.

The articles can be placed into four categories: culture, unrelated to war (9); society and culture in war (8); war coverage (9); war's aftermath (17). The war coverage usually involved the writers/photographers covering first-hand some unique aspect of the conflict: helicopter warfare, Special Forces, war on the railroads, brown war navy, or air rescue. There were only two general war articles, one of which covered the French fighting in 1950. Another piece was actually part of an extensive story on the U.S. Air Force, introduced by Gen. Curtis LeMay, former chief of the Strategic Air Command and a member of the National Geographic Society Board of Trustees. The post-war or aftermath coverage involved seven stories on refugees (including one on the 1954 refugee evacuation of North Vietnam), two editorials and a series on the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, and six other stories (including an obituary for Dickey Chapelle, author of several of the war articles and the first woman journalist killed while covering combat in Vietnam).

The first article after World War II and into the French or First Indochina War was about "strife-torn Indochina" (October 1950). Calling the region a "political hotspot," the author, W. Robert Moore, noted similarities, in both circumstances and geography, with Korea. The "Moscow-trained" "underground" "rebels" were waging a "hit-and-run guerrilla campaign." Six months later (April 1951), the same author wrote an update. Again, he compared the "embattled land" in the "shadow of war" with Korea. The "recognized government of Vietnam" was trying to maintain the "stubborn tradition of freedom" in the face of Viet Minh attacks. The "Moscow-trained" "underground forces" were employing "organized guerrilla campaign," "scorched-earth tactics," and "sniping, incendiarism, and night raids." The references to war in this last article, however, were fleeting.

Almost a year and half later, another author wrote how "Indochina Faces the Dragon" (September 1952):

> Throughout the age-old Orient, wherever time is reckoned by the Chinese calendar, this is the Year of the Dragon. For war-torn Indochina, facing the rampant dragon that is Red China across 750 miles of frontier, that fact has an ominous sound. Today the big question is whether the dragon, breathing fire, will rend the Bamboo Curtain and lunge southward as it did in Korea. On time's answer hangs the fate of this former French colony, of Southeast Asia, and perhaps of the world. (p. 287)

The purpose of the article was "to bring National Geographic readers an up-to-date picture of this Asian trouble spot." Using words such as "menace," "lunge," and "embattled," the author described how "there is no absolute security anywhere." Hue, for example, was "a beleagured city." French and Vietnamese soldiers were on "lonely vigil in exposed places." Luckily, there were a few bright spots, such as the "dynamic young Colonel," "his province completely cleared of Viet Minh." Nevertheless, as the introduction to the pullout wall map noted, the "Far East's Turmoil Shakes the Globe." Both the parallel of Korea and the domino theory were raised and repeated in the article:

> Like the Koreans, the people of Indochina are caught in the global struggle between Communism and the Free World....Many a French officer told us: "We must keep Indochina from Communism. It's the keystone of Southeast Asia. If Indochina falls, so in time will Siam (Thailand), Burma, Malaya, and perhaps the islands with all their vast resources." (p. 288)

The first crisis spot for the Kennedy administration in Southeast Asia was actually Laos. Moore, chief of the magazine's foreign editorial staff and author of the first two post-war articles, wrote from a "front row seat at that strange guerrilla warfare going on in Indochina." The full page black and white map accompanying the article was titled: "Indochina: Southeast Asia's Battleground." Among the article's photographs, mostly provided by the French Department of Information were a French and Laotian patrol passing the corpse of a Viet Minh and a French aircraft "sear[ing] an enemy-held village with flaming napalm."

Following the 1954 Geneva accords, New York Times Magazine writer Gertrude Samuels tried to answer the question "why did the refugees leave their homes and fields and flee south?" The article, a powerful statement against Communism, stated, "These 700,000 refugees, who surely proved that they are powerfully anti-Communist, are among the staunchest friends the Free World has in Asia." (p. 874) The photographs were provided by the U.S. Navy, which assisted with the evacuation, and the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration, which was responsible for resettlement of the refugees.

There was a gap in coverage of the region until Elizabeth Perazic's piece on Laos (January 1960). Perazic, half of a wife-husband aid team with over four years experience in Laos, wrote mostly about the aid and relief efforts, including those of the famed Dr. Thomas Dooley. Although called the "frontline of the struggle against Communist expansion," little of the war in Laos was discussed. The image of the American effort was captured in a curious anecdote:

> The Filipinos [medical relief workers] learn Lao rapidly. When asked about the Americans, they respond in their generous, good-natured way: "Well, look at us! The Americans ran our country for fifty years, then moved out when we were ready to look after ourselves. We have schools, hospitals, universities. You can make the same advances if you work at it." (p. 59)

Over a year and half later, the writer/photographer team of Peter White and Wilbur Garrett wrote about Laos. Although they noted the relief efforts, including the continuing impact of the late Dr. Dooley (who had died of cancer at the age of 34), they devoted more space to the fighting. The administrative capital of Vietiane was nicknamed the "City of Bullet Holes." Up north, "landing strips [were] receiving Soviet supply planes daily." Around the countryside "hit-and-run terrorists spread fear of ambush and death." In spite of the stereotyping, the article had graphic and moving writing:

> As we stepped out into the sunlight, a man came up to John Cool and silently showed him his hand. It had a festering hole as big as a silver dollar. We could see maggots moving. John said: "I have some antiseptic salve with me, but it's too late for that." Though an interpreter he told the man to go home, rest, and soak his hand in hot water...."I hope he'll be alive three days from now," John said....The man with the festering hand still squatted patiently before us. "Chances are he won't do what I told him," said John, with a terrible sadness. "He believes he is sick because he has offended a spirit." (p. 247)

Shortly after, the same team reported on South Vietnam (October 1961). Although the story devoted most of its space to daily life and society, the piece discussed the fighting, "the horror that lingered over Viet Nam." Like much of Geographic's photography, the photos in this story have been described as "the conventional travelogue variety -- Tet celebrants, temple interiors, seaport life, cyclo drivers, beautiful girls in flowing gowns."30

Three selections from the text capture the contradictory nature of National Geographic stories. The first is presentation or "promotion," in line with Grosvenor's original editorial policies:

> Said President Ngo Dinh Diem: "Faced by failure in political action, the Communists have resorted to subversive warfare." A presidential advisor elaborated: "We are victims of our own success. When the French pulled out and the Communists took over the northern half of Viet Nam, nobody thought we in the south could last long....President Diem has slapped the Communists in the face, and they're desperate to do something about it." (p. 460)

The second selection is "revelation":

> I drove on and up toward Da Lat, thinking of the horror that lingered over Viet Nam. While Americans fought in Korea, Frenchmen had died here by the thousands -- in a war with few fronts but constant ambush, with wounded left to torture or to death through ants and vultures. The French had a phrase for those who came back; they looked like "Christ off the Cross." (p. 480)

The third selection is "reflection" and, inadvertantly, prescience:

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30. Bryan, op. cit., at 277.

> He sipped his aperitif. "You've undoubtly met the Viet Cong, you know. An elevator boy, or a shopkeeper, or a driver for MAAG. They are everywhere. They collect 'taxes,' even in Saigon, by persuasion or by threats. They give a receipt. If a man takes it to the police station, the Viet Cong kills him. Let the police catch him with it, and he might go to a re-education camp."
>
> I asked, "What will happen to Viet Nam?"
>
> "I hope for a miracle to save us," he said. "Otherwise the Viet Cong will get stronger. Will the Americans go home? Maybe they'll let their own soldiers fight. But how could they do better in the swamps and the jungles than the French?" (p. 489)

Introduced by a dramatic cover photograph, Dickey Chapelle's first piece for National Geographic was on the helicopter war (November 1961). Chapelle accompanied South Vietnamese troops on airborne assaults. The helicopters were flown by American crews and the South Vietnamese troops were accompanied, and often directed, by American advisors. National Geographic was proud of the fact that this article, two years before the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, may have been the first to photograph American troops in combat. Chapelle photographed Viet Cong in action on the ground and their destruction, Viet Cong prisoners, and funerals of South Vietnamese soldiers.

Howard Sochurek, a veteran journalist of several wars, wrote the next piece (September 1964), about the struggles of the South Vietnamese railway to keep in operation. In addition to recounting terrifying attacks on the railroad, Sochurek himself was ambushed while traveling the line north from Saigon to Hue. "It was just as the cook had predicted," wrote Sochurek. In an attack in 1947, the Viet Minh stopped four trains in convoy and "killed every Frenchman in sight." In 1963, the Viet Cong stopped a train with armored cars. The South Vietnamese soldiers were "trapped and cooked in the armored coffins."

The following year Sochurek was researching a story on the American Special

Forces when the Montagnards the Americans were advising rebelled against the South Vietnamese government. The Montagnards took the Americans hostage and executed several South Vietnamese officials. The article focused on the heroic quality of the American advisors: "how coolness and character averted a blood bath when mountain tribesmen rose in revolt." The Americans defused the crisis. Sochurek captured much of the crisis on film. One photograph, captioned "faces that looked at death," pictured the American hostages who witnessed the death of their South Vietnamese colleagues. Other photographs showed the fomenter of the revolt, "later proved to be a member of the Communist Viet Cong."

The team of White and Garrett were in Saigon in February 1965 in time to document the sixth coup in sixteen months, the first bombing of North Vietnam by the South Vietnamese air force (led by Marshal Ky), and the evacuation of American dependents. The last two actions were in response to a Viet Cong attack on Pleiku which killed American advisors and South Vietnamese soldiers. "With American advisors now dying everyday," the article reported, "it was no secret that the Viet Cong attacked in growing strength." The first American combat troops arrived at Da Nang the following month. The article, "Saigon: Eye of the Storm," appeared in June 1965.

A major promotion article for the United States Air Force appeared three months later (September 1965). Introduced by Society trustee and former Strategic Air Commander chief Curtis Lemay, the lengthy article heralded the growth and superiority of the U.S.A.F. The first fifth of the article covered Air Force activities in Vietnam, employing Air Force photographs.

Dickey Chapelle's article on the South Vietnamese inland navy (February 1966) was based on research completed in the fall of 1965. As with her other work, Chapelle joined her subjects forces on patrol and in battle. The story has two poignant footnotes. The central figure and hero of Chapelle's story, a young U.S. Navy advisor, was killed in action between the time of the story and its publication. Before her article appeared, Chapelle was killed while accompanying troops into battle. The article was accompanied by brief stories about the two deaths.

As the American involvement in Vietnam increased, White and photographer Winfield Parks, traveled to Hue and Da Nang to examine the Vietnam "behind the headlines":

> When my friend Thien, a Vietnamese editor, asked if he could speak frankly, I said yes, please do. "Well," he said, "You Americans send many soldiers to fight for our country, and you spend much money here, but you really don't know very much about our people."
>
> Quite frankly, I had to admit that he was not entirely wrong. It was the overpowering aspects of the Vietnamese scene -- the unremitting warfare, the daily routine of its toll -- that preoccupied Americans at home as they read their newspapers and watched TV. The smoke of war hid the Vietnamese themselves -- their beliefs, their history, their way of doing things. (pp. 149-150)

The article and the photographs, introduced with a beautiful cover shot, were typical National Geographic. The war itself occupied only a quarter of the copy. The pull-out, full color wall map was accompanied by a four page introduction entitled "Strife-Torn Vietnam and Its Neighbors." Nevertheless, White's text, as had been the case in his other articles, revealed a certain grimness. "In the back of the plane, on stretchers and covered with ponchos, rode three dead Marines."

In 1968 Howard Sochurek published two articles. The first was an historical and cultural piece on the Montagnards who were "caught in the jaws of war" (April 1986). The author traveled to the Dak Pek and An Lac areas to examine the survival of the tribe in the face of war. Although the retelling of battles occupied only a quarter of the text, the photographs told a sobering and disenchanting tale. More than half of the photographs depicted the destruction and devastation of the fighting.

The second piece was the inspiring story of the Air Rescue Service, the men in the helicopters that swooped into enemy territory to rescue downed American pilots

(September 1968). It was a story filled with bravery and courage, plus a few close calls. The theme was tailor-made for Reader's Digest. Sochurek flew on at least one rescue mission and his photographs documented the rescue of a grateful crewman being pulled aboard a helicopter behind enemy lines.

That same year, White and Garrett traveled much of the length of the Mekong River -- from northern Laos through Cambodia to the delta -- to document the Mekong River basin development project (December 1968). The story promoted the development potential, particularly through water projects and electrification, of the region. As the authors moved downstream, the impact of the war, in both text and photograph, became more prominent. Nevertheless, even the portion on the Delta had an upbeat theme as Robert Komer, "the ranking American pacification expert," discussed the success of pacification.31

After a break of several years, the next National Geographic piece was a series on the land and peoples of Southeast Asia (March 1971). The team of White and Garrett produced the first story, "Mosaic of Culture," which gave an overview of the region's (including Burma) history and culture. The war was mentioned only in passing. The second piece, "New Light on a Forgotten Past," by University of Hawaii anthropology professor Wilhelm Solheim never mentioned the conflict.

The last story of the war years was Garrett's own piece on the Hmong tribe of Laos, subtitled "No Place to Run" (January 1974). The war was only a minor part of the story since, at the time, the Royalist and Pathet Lao forces had joined in a ceasefire. Garrett, detained briefly by the Pathet Lao while writing the story, explored the status of the Hmong after 14 years of conflict. Under General Vang Pao, the tribe formed the core of the C.I.A.'s guerrilla army in Laos. The author spent some time

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31. Robert Komer was involved with the Phoenix program. See Dale Andrade, Ashes to Ashes: The Phoenix Program and the Vietnam War (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990).

discussing Pao: "war leader or warlord? patriot or puppet? no one label fits Vang Pao."

Two of Garrett's photographs were striking. One, taken during his brief capture, was of a government carpenter and a Pathet Lao soldier planning the construction of a school. The second was striking only after the reader understands, probably by reading the caption, the import of the picture. The photograph shows a Hmong family -- father, mother, each holding a child, with an older child on each side. The baby at the mother's breast is nursing. The child in the father's lap, head and face showing, is wrapped in a yellow shroud. The caption begins: "milk of life, shroud of death." Only on closer inspection do we realize that the child in the father's lap was dead.

Refugees were the subjects of the first articles after the war. A November 1979 article examined the plight of the refugees in Hong Kong and the dilemma facing the Crown colony government. Garrett, now Associate Editor, did a another piece on the Hmong in "Thailand: Refuge from Terror" (May 1980). His story was paired with "One Family's Odyssey to America." This piece, about a Hmong family's migration to the United States, was written by John Everingham, a journalist captured for a short time by the Pathet Lao. Everingham received notice for smuggling his Laotian wife out of Laos by towing her, lifeguard-style, across the Mekong River. These articles were followed by a story of the friction caused when Vietnamese fishermen settled in Biloxi, Mississippi ("Troubled Odyssey of Vietnamese Fishermen," September 1982).

White and Garrett, the former now a senior writer and the latter now editor of the magazine, rejoined for a two-part series on the temples of Angkor and their fate during the war and the Pol Pot years in Cambodia. The stories focused on the famed ruins and their further decline at the hands of the warring armies. The articles were followed by a story of the destruction of nation of Cambodia, entitled "Kampuchea Wakens From a Nightmare" (May 1982). Among the dramatic photographs were two pictures of hundreds of skulls dug from the mass graves of "the killing fields." The most moving photograph was of a wall of photographs, used by Khmer Rouge officials to keep track of some of the 16,000 political prisoners executed at the Tuol Sleng prison camp, now a museum. White, Garrett and photographer David Alan Harvey were present when Cambodian officials opened another of the mass graves containing some 6,000 bodies.

Cambodia had been the subject of several stories over the war years, but none had touched on the war. The famed Cambodian ruins of Angkor, the center of the Khmer culture and heritage, had long been the focus of National Geographic stories (March 1912, September 1928, April 1960, May 1982). One story about Cambodia appeared early in the war (October 1964), when the kingdom was still neutral. The closest references to the fighting in Vietnam were the discussions of Cambodia's neutrality and the strong anti-American sentiment of its people. Thomas Abercrombie, the author, opened his piece, "'Friend or American?' challenged the leader of the excited crowd." Abercrombie was exposed as an American but escaped.

The next group of stories, appearing in May 1985, focused attention on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. As editor Garrett mentioned in his editorial, the staff had considered publishing the names of the 58,000 Americans killed or missing in action, until they discovered that it would require 230 pages. As he wrote,

> We backed off, but the publishers Harper & Row did not. This May 1 they will issue a book on the monument, To Heal a Nation, by Jan C. Scruggs and Joel L. Swerdlow. It will contain all the names -- names that hold a very special meaning for all Americans. (p. 551)

The three Geographic articles included an essay by Timothy S. Kolly, "Echoes of a War," from the book The Vietnam Veteran: A History of Neglect,32 and selections from To Heal a Nation.33 The third piece was Garrett's retrospective

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32. David E. Bonior, Steven M. Champlin and Timothy S. Kolly (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984).
33. Jan C. Scruggs and Joel L. Swerdlow (New York: Harper & Row, 1985)

"Southeast Asia Ten Years Later." He wrote:

> Half a world away from our Vietnam Veterans memorial stands a macabre monument to the same Southeast Asian war, a wall of 9,000 nameless skulls -- all removed from one mass grave -- all from people murdered long after the United States pulled out -- all victims of a war that began in the dim past and continues to this day.
>
> For 25 years I have been covering Southeast Asia for National Geographic -- drawn back there as so many other have been, like moths swarming to a flame. It was a region in ferment. Years of Western domination were being painfully peeled away. But amid the horror there was always beauty and charm and an incomprehensible patience and resilience. Some misread the latter and rationalized that Asians don't value life as Westerners do. What a tragic misconception. (p. 574)

A subsequent editorial (August 1985) introduced a lengthy collection of letters sent by readers in response to the series on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The letters were as moving as the stories that inspired them:

> I visited Washington in April and saw the memorial. The earth does seem to split there, mourning her dead children and weeping for the stupidness of man who starts wars.
>
> I wanted no reminders, no memories, no slick hype or morbid postmortems. However, your articles were not at all what my self-pity or pre-judging had assessed. I never experienced anything quite like this emotion before. Not defeat, not elation, not pride, not anger -- but a feeling of warmth and calm. It was a marvelously subdued and gracious essay to all who returned. And a warm "I love you" to those who didn't. (p. 141+)

National Geographic did not end its coverage of Indochina. White returned to Laos in 1986 to write two stories, both of which raised the M.I.A. issue. The first was a very short story on "Missing in Action, 1972 -- U.S. Plane Found in Laos" (November 1986). The second story, "Laos Today" (June 1987), extends the issue of plane crashes (including a map of known crash sites) to the impact of the war and peace of present-day Laos. In October 1988 there was a follow-up on the Hmong in America, "Laotian Refugees in the 'Land of Giants.'" This was the first story about the Laotian tribe not written by Wilbur Garrett.

DISCUSSION

National Geographic's coverage of Vietnam and Indochina can be categorized several ways: chronologically, geographically, thematically, or by tone (see Appendix and Table II). Chronologically, the coverage falls into four categories: pre-World War II (4), the French or First Indochina War (5), the American or Second Indochina War (20), and the post-war (15). The third category can be further subdivided: era of American advisors (to August 1965 -- 9), America's war (1965-1972 -- 10), and Vietnamization (1972-1975 -- 1) (see Appendix). Geographically, the coverage can be categorized as either regional (9) or by nation -- Cambodia (8), Laos (9) or Vietnam (18) (see Table I). Thematically, the coverage falls into four categories: history and culture (with little, if any mention of conflict)(9), culture and society in war (9), the war (usually looking at specific events or topics)(9), and the war's aftermath (17). The last category can be subdivided into several themes: refugees 7), veterans (4), and countries (particularly Cambodia and Laos)(6). There appears to be a parallel between the chronological and the thematic coverage (see Table I).

Finally, the coverage can be categorized by tone: promotion (20), revelation (17), or reflection (7) (see Appendix). National Geographic, under the editorial principles of Gilbert H. Grosvenor, presented and promoted countries, regions and places. The early articles promoted the French and later the South Vietnamese in the battle over the Communist menace. However, perhaps as a result of the use of seasoned war correspondents like Chapelle and Sochurek, National Geographic revealed to the readers not just the history and culture of the region, but also the pain and suffering caused by the war. The magazine referred to the fighting as a civil war as early as 1961. This is not to say the magazine engaged in exposes or criticism of American policy. Finally, as the war passed through our collective consciousness, the magazine engaged in reflection, looking back on what the war did to its participants, both as groups and as individuals. Over the 80 plus years of its coverage National Geographic's coverage of Indochina became less promotional and more reflective (see Appendix).

National Geographic is renown for its photographic coverage, perhaps to the disregard of the text. As noted, the magazine is proud of having apparently published the first photographs of Americans in combat, several years before the Tonkin Gulf resolution. Over the period 1954-1975, over a third of National Geographic's photographs of Indochina related to the war and its impact (see Table II). Even as early as the 1950s, the magazine published photographs of the results of war -- destruction, dead and wounded. However, the victims were almost always Asian. Nevertheless, the pictures could be moving.

Almost ignored, but often more powerful and more revealing, was the text. This is important because more of the text was devoted to portrayal of the war than were the photographs (39.39% versus 38% for period of 1954-1975; 50% versus 42% for period of 1964-1972; see Table II). Bryan's history of the magazine caught the paradox:

> While Garrett's photographs were, for the most part, of the conventional travelogue variety... White's text was conspicuously grim. He wrote of the growing Viet Cong strength: "Quietly and relentlessly -- with the world hardly aware of it yet -- the rich country in the south was slipping ever deeper into a calculatedly cruel civil war.... From dusk to dawn, the Viet Cong ruled nearly half of South Viet Nam."34

National Geographic published 22 articles over the span of the Second Indochina War (1954-1975), with 2553.75 column inches of text and 355.75 pages of photographs. Nearly 60% of the stories appeared between 1964-1972, the period identified by Gallup as the time of the most intense concern over the war. During

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34. Bryan, op. cit., at 277.

those eight years, 50% of the text and 42% of the photographs published in National Geographic's coverage of Indochina related directly to the war and its impact (as compared with 40% and 38% for the entire war) (see Table II). Although we should draw no causal connection between the two, National Geographic shared the public's concern over the war. During the era of most important concern, nearly half of Geographic's Indochina coverage focused on the war.

It is clear that National Geographic did not avoid covering the war in Vietnam, nor avoid (within the strictures of Grosvenor's principles and the expectations of its readers) the unpleasant side of war. The early coverage portrayed America as the "city on a hill," while later coverage was foreboding. The early discussions of politics were jingoistic. The later articles stayed away from politics and focused on the human stories. Nevertheless, there were still good guys and bad guys. The subjects of the war coverage were either innocent victims (usually the local populace) or the American fighters. The stories of the Americans almost always focused on some heroic figure -- Green Beret, pilot, naval advisor or even fallen war correspondent. Throughout the years, National Geographic struggled to loosen the bonds of Grosvenor's editorial principles. In spite of its continued reputation for pretty pictures and pleasant text, at least with its coverage of Vietnam, it succeeded, as evidenced by the shift from promotional to revelational and reflective articles.

In September 1991 Peter White, the writer responsible for most of the articles, read a draft of this paper and agreed to a lengthy interview.[35] White, "eager to go," left for his first assignment in Saigon on the eve of John Kennedy's inauguration. At the time, White said, "We saw the South as a success story."

White concurred that the tone of National Geographic's coverage of Indochina changed after 1961. The change, according to White, "was not a conscious decision."

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[35]. **Interview with Peter White, Senior Editor, National Geographic Magazine, September 24, 1991, Jersey County, Illinois.**

Previously, "Indochina was seen through the eyes of the French." Subsequent reporting was either by "freelancers" and "seen through the eyes of the American military stationed over there," or by White, who had no particular affiliation to either the French or the American military.

"Generally speaking, politics is not of interest" to the magazine, according to White, "Normally, we wouldn't cover it." "But, if politics is utmost," White remembered the 1978 feature he wrote on Spain in which he reported about the nation's first democratic elections, held in 1976. "If something is important, I feel we can cover anything."

According to White, "We were collecting points of view. Every point of view should be represented; should be represented fairly," said White. He quickly acknowledged, however, "Not every point of view is valid." The magazine was anxious to explain the Vietnamese point of view and their culture, "but, not in any sensational way." White recalled a feature on Brazil that told of cannibals who eat their dead out of respect.

White acknowledged the existence of self-censorship. He reported that he cut a line, "Some already have their houses on the Riviera," from his first story. Choice of what to include in a story is dictated by space. "You want to be fair and accurate. It is quite a responsibility." The magazine is, White added, "strong on fact checking and rechecking." As he concluded, White, now a senior editor, reflected, "You don't get better at it."

CONCLUSION

This study explored the nature of the coverage of the Vietnam conflict by National Geographic, the magazine of the National Geographic Society, America's preeminent geographic educational institution. It asked three questions: what was the nature of Geographic's coverage; did the nature of the coverage change over time; and did the coverage prior to the Tet offensive of 1968 stay away from portraying the "dirty" side of the war?

Over an 80-plus year span, National Geographic has published 44 separate articles related to Indochina. Thirty-five of the articles make some reference to the either the First (French) or Second (American) Indochina wars. At least 25 of the articles were directly motivated by the conflict, covering either the war or its impact on groups such as refugees and veterans. During the most period of most intense public concern about the war, half of Geographic's Indochina coverage was on the war.

Over time, Geographic's coverage changed. First, the coverage focused more specifically on South Vietnam and Laos. Second, as the tempo of the war picked up, the articles devoted more space, both text and photographs, on the war. The coverage, however, did not stop with the end of the war in 1975. Third, and most important for the magazine, the tone of its coverage changed from the presentational or promotional style of founding editor Gilbert H. Grosvenor to the reportorial or revelatorial style of war correspondents to the retrospective reflections of editor Wilbur Garrett. Garrett joined the magazine under the influence of Robert Moore, author of some of the earliest Indochina articles. Moore, then chief of the magazine's foreign editorial section, represented the promotional style and wrote with a jingoistic flair. Garrett, along with writer Peter White, grew and changed with the magazine. White was noted for his grimness and foreboding. Garrett eventually became the magazine's editor and author of its reflective pieces.

National Geographic did not avoid showing the "dirty" side of war. Photographs and descriptions of the "unpleasant" side of war, as opposed to Epstein's "clean" war, appeared in the Fifties. Most of the revelations occurred in the text, rather than in the photographs. Nevertheless, most of Geographic's coverage focused on heroic figures, usually American, fighting against a terrible enemy. As the magazine reported, the enemy did terrible things. However, the enemy's side and the less-than-honorable acts committed by our side were not reported. We did not get just pretty pictures. Why, then, is our memory of National Geographic's coverage only of the pretty pictures?

First, as this study has found, the coverage of the war was more extensive, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in the text than in the photographs. Second, in relation to National Geographic's overall coverage, Indochina and Vietnam in particular, did not get extensive coverage. In comparison to 25% of television news coverage and 7% of news magazine coverage, National Geographic gave only 3% of its pages to the coverage of Vietnam. Over the period of 1964-1972, when the public was most concerned about the war, the proportion of its pages devoted to Vietnam rose to almost 5% (see Table III). It is no wonder that, in spite of its willingness to address the unpleasant and critical side of war, we remember National Geographic for its pretty pictures.

APPENDIX I -- BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES AND THEIR TONE

National Geographic articles about Vietnam and Indochina appear to have one or more of three tones:

* presentational, sometimes even "promotional," perhaps reflective of Gilbert H. Grosvenor's original editorial principles (P);

* reportorial, often revealing the unpleasant and disquieting (R); and

* reflective or retrospective (**RE**).

P 1912 -- March [C]
The Forgotten Ruins of Indo-China. By Jacob E. Conner. 209-272. [about ruins of Angkor in Cambodia]
P 1928 -- September [C]
Four Faces of Siva: The Mystery of Angkor. By Robert J. Casey. 303-332. [about ruins of Angkor in Cambodia]
P 1931 -- August [C]
Along the Old Mandarin Road of Indo-China. By W. Robert Moore. 157-199. [travelogue and culture in Vietnam]
P 1935 -- October [was not indexed]
By Motor Trail Across French Indo-China, By Maynard Owen Williams. [travelogue and culture]
P 1950 -- October [C,V]
Strife-torn Indochina. By W. Robert Moore. 499-510. [political update on region, including French fighting]
P 1951 -- April [C,S,V]
Portrait of Indochina. By W. Robert Moore and Maynard Owen Williams. Paintings by Jean Despujols. 461-490. [cultural survey of region, including French fighting]
P 1952 -- September [C,S,V]
Indochina Faces the Dragon. By George W. Long. Photos by J. Baylor Roberts. 287-328. **Pullout map**, 329-330. ["to bring National Geographic readers an up-to-date picture of this Asian trouble spot"]
P 1954 -- May [L]
War and Quiet on the Laos Frontier. By W. Robert Moore. 665-680. ["front row seat at that strange guerrilla warfare going on in Indochina"]
P 1955 -- June [V]
Passage to Freedom in Viet Nam. By Gertrude Samuels. 858-874. [the evacuation of refugees from the North - "Why did the refugees leave their homes and fields and flee south?"]
P 1960 -- January [L]
Little Laos, Next Door to Red China. By Elizabeth Perazic. 46-69. [general culture with minor reference to war]
P 1960 -- April [C]
Angkor, Jewel of the Jungle. By W. Robert Moore. Paintings by Maurice Fievet. 517-569. [history of Angkor in Cambodia]

P 1961 -- August [L]

Report on Laos. By Peter T. White. Photos by W.E. Garrett. 241-275. [culture and update on situation, with some focus on the war]

P 1961 -- October [S,VS]

South Viet Nam Fights the Red Tide. By Peter T. White. Photos by W.E. Garrett. 445-489. [culture and update on situation, with some focus on the war]

R 1962 -- November [VS]

Helicopter War in South Viet Nam. By Dickey Chapelle. 723-754. [war from perspective of ARVN and U.S. advisors and aircrews; author was in battle]

R 1964 -- September [S,VS]

Slow Train Through Viet Nam's War. By Howard Sochurek. 412-444. [travelling the train through the war, heavy emphasis on the war and its destruction; author was in battle]

R 1964 -- October [C]

Cambodia: Indochina's "Neutral" Corner. By Thomas J. Abercrombie. 514-551. [history and culture]

R 1965 -- January [VS]

American Special Forces in Action in Viet Nam. By Howard Sochurek. 38-65. [story of Montagnard revolt with heavy focus on role of U.S. advisors, little on the larger war; author was in battle]

*** 1965** -- January [C,L,V]

Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. **Map**. Text on reverse.

R 1965 -- June [S,VS]

Saigon: Eye of the Storm. By Peter T. White. Photos by W.E. Garrett. 834-872. [story of aborted coup and war's impact on Saigon; author was "in battle"]

P 1965 -- September [VS]

Of Planes and Men. By Kenneth F. Weaver. Photos by Emory Kristof and Albert Moldvay. 298-349. [first few pages on lengthy piece promoting U.S.A.F.]

RE 1966 -- February [not indexed]

Tribute of Dickey Chapelle. 270-271. [obituary; author was first female journalist killed in battle]

R 1966 -- February [VS]

Water War in Viet Nam. By Dickey Chapelle. 272-296. [story of South Vietnamese riverine forces and U.S. advisors; author was in battle]

P 1967 -- February [VS]

Behind the Headlines in Viet Nam. By Peter T. White. Photos by Winfield Parks. 149-189. [predominantly a culture and travelogue piece, with some discussion of war]

*** 1967** -- February [C,L,V]

Strife-torn Vietnam and Its Neighbors. Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. 190-193. **Map**.

R 1968 -- April [VS]

Viet Nam's Montagnards. By Howard Sochurek. 443-487. [culture and history of Montagnards, retelling of battles in war]

R 1968 -- September [VN]

Air Rescue Behind Enemy Lines. By Howard Sochurek. 346-369. [air rescue of downed pilots; author was "in battle"]

P 1968 -- December [C,L,VS]

The Mekong, River of Terror and Hope. By Peter T. White. Photos by W.E. Garrett. 737-787. [Mekong River basin development project,

P/P 1971 -- March [C,L,V]

The Lands and Peoples of Southeast Asia. 295-365.

I. Mosaic of Cultures. By Peter T. White. Photos by W.E. Garrett. 296-329. [overview of region's history and culture, very minor mention of the war]

II. New Light on a Forgotten Past. By Wilhelm G. Solheim II. 330-339. [anthropology, no war]

*** 1971** -- March [V]

The Peoples of Mainland Southeast Asia; Asia. (one page) **Map.**

R 1974 -- January [L,LR]

The Hmong of Laos: No Place to Run. By W.E. Garrett. 78-111. [status of Hmong after Laos ceae-fire; author held by Pathet Lao]

R 1979 -- November [VR]

Hong Kong's Refugee Dilemma. By William S. Ellis. Photos by William Albert Allard. Included: Ethnic Chinese refugees expelled from Vietnam. 709-732. [crisis of refugees in Hong Kong]

R 1980 -- May [CR,LR,VR]

Thailand: Refuge from Terror. By W.E. Garrett. 633-642. [Hmong refugees]

R 1980 -- May [LR]

One Family's Odyssey to America. By John Everingham. 642-661. [Hmong refugees]

R 1981 -- September [VR]

Troubled Odyssey of Vietnamese Fisherman. By Harvey Arden. Photos by Steve Wall. 378-395. [settlement of Vietnamese in U.S.]

RE/P 1982 -- May [K]

The Temples of Angkor. 548-589.

I. Will They Survive. Introduction by Wilbur E. Garrett. 548-551. [impact of war on Angkor]

II. Ancient Glory in Stone. By Peter T. White. Photos by Wilbur E. Garrett. 552-589. [archeology of Angkor]

R 1982 -- May [K,V]

Kampuchea Wakens From a Nightmare. By Peter T. White. Photos by David Alan Harvey. 590-623. [post-war culture, with focus on atrocities, authors witnessed opening of mass grave]

RE 1985 -- May [VVM]

Editorial. By Wilbur E. Garrett. 551. [introduction to Vietnam Veterans Memorial articles]

RE/RE/RE 1985 -- May [C,VVM,VW]

Vietnam Veterans Memorial: America Remembers. Includes: Echoes of a War. By Timothy S. Kolly. 554.

To Heal a Nation. By Joel L. Swerdlow. 555-573.

Editor's Postscript: Southeast Asia Ten Years Later. 574-575.

RE 1985 -- August [VVM]

Editorial. By Wilbur E. Garrett. 141+. [postscript to Vietnam Veterans Memorial stories, accompanied by letters from readers]

R 1986 -- November [L,VW]

Missing in Action. 1972 -- U.S. Plane Found in Laos. By Peter T. White. Photos by Seny Norasingh. 692-696.

R 1987 -- June [L,Vientiane,VW]

Laos Today. By Peter T. White. Photos by Seny Norasingh. Included: Map of plane-crash sites. 772-795.

R 1988 -- October [LR]

The Hmong in America: Laotian Refugees in the "Land of Giants." By Spencer Sherman. Photos by Dick Swanson. 586-610.

* Indexing Categories: C = Cambodia, CR = Cambodian Refugees; K = Kampuchea; L = Laos; LR = Laotian Refugees; S = Saigon; V = Vietnam; VN = Vietnam, North; VR = Vietnamese Refugees; VS = Vietnam, South; VVM = Vietnam Veteran's Memorial; VW = Vietnam War.

APPENDIX II - MAJOR THEMES OF ARTICLES, BY LOCATION AND YEAR

TOPIC:	LOCATION: Southeast Asia	Cambodia	Laos	Vietnam
Culture (9)	1935, 1971 1971	1912, 1928 1960, 1964 1982		1931
Society in War (8)	1951, 1952 1968		1954 1960 1961	1961 1967
War (9)	1950			1962,1964 1965,1965 1965,1966 1968,1968
Aftermath -- Refugees (7)	1979		1974 1980 1980 1988	1955 1981
Aftermath -- Veterans (4)				1985(4)
Aftermath -- Other (6)		1982,1982 1985	1986 1987	1966
Total by Geography:	8	8	9	18

APPENDIX III - DISTRIBUTION OF COPY

COMPARISON OF YEARS OF SECOND INDOCHINA WAR (1954-1975) TO YEARS OF "VIETNAM" AS "MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM (1964-1972)

YEAR	TOTAL PAGES	TOTAL COPY	TOTAL TEXT	WAR TEXT	% WAR	TOTAL PHOTO	WAR PHOTO	% WAR
			(by column inches)			(by page)		
1954	16	280	93.75	15	16	8	4.75	59
1955	17	297.5	69.25	69.25	100	10.25	5.5	54
1960	24	420	144.0	7.5	5.21	12.75	2	16
1960	54	945	145.75	0	0	16	0	0
1961	35	612.5	177.75	53.75	30.24	19.5	5.25	27
1961	45	787.5	141.75	30	21.16	28	2	7
1962	32	560	91.75	87.25	95.1	22.25	21.25	96
1964	33	577.5	98.5	89.5	90.86	21	7.5	36
1964	38	665	153.5	11.25	7.33	21	0	0
1965	28	490	111.0	111.0	100	16.25	10.75	66
1965	39	682.5	154	154	100	22.25	9.75	44
1965	10	175	30	30	100	7.75	7.75	100
1966	2	35	22.5	22.5	100	.5	.5	100
1966	25	437.5	86.75	86.75	100	17.75	15.5	87
1967	41	717.5	166.75	41.75	25.04	26.5	6.75	25
1967	4	70	18.25	8	43.84	1.75	1.25	71
1968	45	787.5	197.25	50.75	25.73	20.75	11.5	55
1968	24	420	91.25	91.25	100	13.25	13.25	100
1968	51	892.5	205	63.25	30.85	24.75	5	20
1971	34	595	151.75	4.75	3.13	20.5	2	10
1971	10	175	61.25	0	0	5.5	0	0
TOTAL 54-75:	641		2553.75	1006	39.39%	355.75	134.75	38%
TOTAL 64-72:	384 (59.9%)		1547.75	773.25	49.96%	219.5	91.5	42%

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MAGAZINE DIVISION

FREE SPEECH AT ALL COSTS:
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MASSES

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ABSTRACT

In its short history (1911-1917), the socialist magazine, The Masses, reminded its readers that irreverence was as American as the Founding Fathers. In exchange, the magazine was sued, censored, and finally put out of business by the ignominious Espionage Act. A study of the magazine reminds us that if the First Amendment protects only those who agree, it has no value. To have value, Americans must constantly guard against any challenge to their right of expression.

FREE SPEECH AT ALL COSTS:

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MASSES

The American people were guaranteed the freedom of expression in the First Amendment. However, it would do violence to history to infer that the guarantee of free expression has always been universally accepted. The government's most extensive effort to restrict criticism came during World War I when more than 1,500 people were arrested and 900 jailed for violating the ignominious Espionage Act, which empowered the postmaster general to declare unmailable any periodicals that interfered with the war effort.[1]

The postmaster general directed the Espionage Act primarily at the socialist press, which sympathized with Germany or preached pacifism or noninterventionalism.[2] The socialist press, which was at the height of its popularity, was obliterated. The 80 or so socialist publications interdicted by the Postal Department during 1917 included Victor Berger's Milwaukee Leader, Eugene Debs' Appeal to Reason, the New York Age, the American Socialist, and The Masses, which has been called the most famous of the socialist journals of the time.[3]

Rebecca Zurier wrote that The Masses' editors sought to remind their readers that irreverance was part of our popular culture, that distrust of the system was as

American as the Founding Fathers.[4] The magazine published some of the harshest criticisms of war in history, such as John Reed's article, "One Solid Month of Liberty," and cartoons such as John Minor's "At Last a Perfect Soldier," which portrayed an army medical examiner gleefully clasping his hands over a hulking, headless soldier, and Boardman Robinson's "Europe 1916," which showed death tempting a jackal toward a cliff with a carrot called "victory." (See Figures 1,2).

Juergens observed that in the early decades of the twentieth century, the press had not yet learned to fear governmental abuse of power and so the administration had its way by targeting journals least able to defend themselves.[5] As the foreign, socialist, and pacifist press were summarily put out of business and their editors taken off to jail, the mainstream press turned a blind eye, which compounded the pity, unaware that First Amendment rights cannot be selectively defended, that when one paper is suppressed, all others are threatened.[6]

An analysis of the short life of *The Masses* finds that its editors reminded their readers that if the First Amendment protected only safe speech, it was meaningless; for the First Amendment to have any value, it must be continually tested in the marketplace. The magazine also was not bound to advertisers. Free from the constraints of the commercial press, the magazine expressed itself freely and openly from its first issue to its last.

In its short history (1911-1917), The Masses was repeatedly faced with a number of lawsuits and sanctions. Whenever their freedom of expression was challenged, whether by the federal government, the Associated Press, or the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice, the magazine's editors reacted indignantly. In the end result, the magazine would go out of business and several of its writers and artists would be indicted for violating the Espionage Act. Spellman called the decision that banned The Masses from the mail, "the nadir of the reactionary period" for the press."7

The Masses was a cultural product indigenous to the spirit of muckraking, socialism, and bohemian revolt prior to World War I.8 The popular impulse for reform, which appealed to workers, intellectuals, farmers, professionals, ethnic minorities and radicals of every stripe, provided the nutriment for the spectacular growth of the Socialist Party of America.9 Starting with 10,000 members in 1901, the party grew to 118,000 by 1912 --- a year when hundreds of socialists held office in the United States, including one congressman, Victor Berger, and 79 mayors.10 The strength of the Socialist Party can be gauged by the number of socialist periodicals. In 1912, there were 323 avowedly socialist publications in the country.11

Socialist editors regarded their papers as agencies that served a public need.12 In The Brass Check, Upton

Sinclair recounted several examples of how the socialist press was more open than capitalist publications, which were more likely to suppress controversial articles.13

The magazine included indictments of religion, sexism, racism, and militarism. They're as big as bedbugs." Cartoons bitterly satirized, among other things, New York City vice crusader Anthony Comstock as a sadistic pygmy. The magazine advertised everything from pamphlets on birth control to the Karl Marx five-cent cigar. When the magazine published articles in defense of Margaret Sanger, it received thousands of letters from women asking for information about birth control.14

The Masses' contributors included Max Eastman, Walter Lippmann, Carl Sandburg, Upton Sinclair, Bill Haywood, Sherwood Anderson, John Reed, Floyd Dell, Louis Untermeyer, Bertrand Russell, Lincoln Steffens, Amy Lowell and George Creel, who headed the wartime board of censorship. Artists who contributed cartoons and drawings included Art Young, Robert Minor, John Sloan, Boardman Robinson, George Bellows, and Pablo Picasso. Writers were paid minimal rates. Artists were not paid at all.15 The magazine gave their contributors something not offered by the commercial press: control over their work.16

The Masses was a cooperative. Its content was decided at monthly editorial meetings where editors and visitors voted on articles and drawings.17 Voting and debating over what would be in the next month's issue "took a lot of time and we had a lot of arguments, but that was one reason why The Masses at its best was a fine thing," said John Sloan, the magazine's art editor.18 This lack of policy would work to the advantage of its editors in their trial with the government. The government could not prove a conspiracy existed on the part of the magazine to disrupt the war effort because of the haphazard nature of the editorial meetings.19

The magazine was in jeopardy of going out of business in 1912 -- a year after it began, when its backer, Rufus Weeks, a socialist insurance executive, withdrew his subsidy and the magazine temporarily ceased publication.20 Art Young then recruited Max Eastman, who had resigned his professorship at Columbia University to promote socialism.21 Eastman ingratiated himself with eccentric millionaires, such as publisher E.W. Scripps, suffragist O.H.P. Belmont, and socialist attorney Amos Pinchot.22 In addition to financial support, Pinchot and Gilbert Roe, a former law partner of Senator Robert LaFollete, offered legal advice.23

In January, 1913, The Masses included the following manifesto::

> A revolutionary and not a reform magazine; a magazine with no dividends to pay; a free magazine; frank, arrogant, impertinent, searching for the true causes; a magazine directed against rigidity and dogma whenever it is found; printing what is too naked or true for a moneymaking press; a magazine whose final policy is to do as it pleases and conciliate

> nobody, not even its readers -- there is room for this publication in America.24

In February, 1913, the magazine included a letter from the Columbia University library bookstore, saying: "Stop sending us The Masses; we never ordered it, and we do not want it."25 The loss of sales outlets may have cost the magazine in circulation but added to its notoriety.26

In June 13, 1913, Eastman wrote that an officer of the military tribunal that had interfered in a bloody confrontation between coal miners and the coal company in Katawa County, West Virginia, was an employee of the Associated Press. He charged the news agency with suppressing information about the coal miners' strike.27 Included with Eastman's article was a cartoon drawn by Young picturing the news as a reservoir poisoned at the source by a figure labeled the Associated Press, which was pouring lies into the water. (See Figure 3)

The Associate Press charged the magazine with criminal libel, and Eastman and Young with personally libeling its president.28 Roe agreed to defend Eastman and Young without charge.29 In an editorial, the magazine asked readers to contribute financially to the legal defense of Eastman and Young.30 At a rally held on behalf of Young and Eastman in New York City's Cooper Union, 2,500 people turned out in support.31 Pinchot, Lincoln Steffens, and Morris Hilquit spoke on behalf of

Young, Eastman and a free press.32 The suit was dropped for fear of what might come out during the trial.33 After the suit was dropped, The Masses published a cartoon by Young that satirized the A.P. (See Figure 4) The issue did much to establish the magazine's reputation while demonstrating the lengths to which the editors were prepared to defend their constitutional rights.34

When The Masses published a cartoon in January 1916 that satirized the press' relationship with capitalism and a poem that compared the Virgin Mary with an unwed mother, the magazine was ousted from the New York City subway newsstands by the Ward and Gow Company, which operated the newsstands.35 When a legislative investigation inquired into the business practices of Ward and Gow later that year, Eastman was permitted to question the company's president because the investigation was deemed a matter of public concern.36

John Dewey, Amos Pinchot, Walter Lippmann, Herbert Croly, editor of The New Republic, Mrs. O.H.P. Belmont, and publisher Charles Scribner all testified that The Masses was neither indecent nor blasphemous.37 But the decision was not reversed and buyers were forced to look in more obscure outlets.38 Unlike the other forms of retaliation against The Masses, this reduced the magazine's circulation.39

In addition to Columbia University, the magazine also would be rejected by the Magazine Distributing

Company in Boston, the United News Company of Philadelphia, stopped at the border by Canada and swept out of colleges and reading rooms from Harvard to San Diego. A natural enemy of The Masses was Anthony Comstock, head of the New York City Society for the Suppression of Vice. In one cartoon, Comstock was drawn as a sadistic pygmy. In another, he was shown dragging a bewildered woman into court because she had given birth to a "naked baby. Shortly after Comstock's death, his successor arrested Merrill Rogers, The Masses' business manager, because the magazine had advertised August Forel's book, The Sexual Question.40

The entry of the United States into an unpopular war would unleash the most repressive punishment against dissenters in American history. In 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act giving Postmaster General Albert Burleson the power to declare unmailable any periodical that interfered with the war effort.41 He declared that he would not bar socialist publications from the mails -- unless they contained treasonable or seditious matter. But, he added, "the trouble is that most Socialist papers do contain such matter."42 Assaults on the socialist press and leadership multiplied in number and severity as the war progressed, blows from which the American socialist movement never fully recovered.43 Most of the Socialist Party's leaders were indicted, including Emma Goldman, Bill Haywood, Victor Berger, and Eugene Debs.44

Behind the selling of the war was George Creel's Committee on Public Information, a board of censorship created by President Wilson shortly after the U.S. entered the war in April 1917.45 For most of the American press, the coming of the war meant patriotism replaced originality.46 The Masses, however, became more political. For instance, it hired cartoonist Robert Minor, who had been fired from the New York Evening World for refusing to draw cartoons in support of the war.47

The Masses' view of warfare was Marxist: Modern war was rooted in an imperialistic competitive system from which only capitalism benefitted.48 In April 1917, John Reed pointed out the connection between wartime profits and the rising cost of food:

> I know what war means. I have been with the armies of all the belligerents except one, and I have seen men die, and go mad, and lie in hospitals suffering hell; but there is a worse thing than that. War means an ugly mob-madness, crucifying the truth-tellers, choking the artists, revolutions, and the working of social forces . . . . The press is howling for war. The church is howling for war. Lawyers, politicians, stockbrokers, social leaders are all howling for war.49

In June 1917, Max Eastman wrote: "This is not a war for democracy. It did not originate in a dispute about democracy, and it is unlikely to terminate in a democratic settlement."50 M.A. Kempf's drawing "Come On In, America, The Blood Is Fine!" showed a skeleton carrying the statue of liberty into a sea of blood. (See

Figure 5} In Art Young's "Having Their Fling," which would later be admitted as evidence in his espionage trial, an editor, capitalist, politician, and minister were drawn in a war-inspired dance while an orchestra led by the devil played a deadly fugue on war implements. {See Figure 6} The magazine reminded its readers how George Creel had once written an indictment of John D. Rockefeller, which the magazine had published after it had been refused by other radical magazines.51

On July 5, the editors received notice that the magazine was "unmailable" though no reason was given.52 When the editors inquired to Solicitor General William Lamar about which passages were offensive, they were told, "If I told you what we objected to, you'd manage to get around the law some way."53 Clarence Darrow, Frank Walsh, Morris Hillquit and Seymour Stedman, representing the magazine, called on Postmaster General Burleson and requested a more reasonable policy.54 But Burleson dismissed them coldly, refusing to explain his censorship policy.55 Unlike most socialist publications, The Masses had the resources to challenge the government in court.

The objectionable articles included: "A Question," an editorial by Max Eastman; "A Tribute," a poem by Josephine Bell; a paragraph in an article on "Conscientious Objectors"; and an editorial, "Friends of American Freedom." The objectionable drawings included two by Henry Glintenkamp: "Liberty Bell," which showed a cracked liberty bell, and "Conscription, which showed dead, naked corpses handcuffed to a cannon {See Figures 7,8}; "Making the World Safe for Capitalism" by Boardman Robinson; and "Congress and Big Business," by Young.56. In "Congress and Big Business," a congressman walked into a war room and asked: "Excuse me, gentlemen, where do I come in?" He's then told by Big Business: "Run along now -- We got through with you when you declared war for us!"

Roe argued that while the works in question criticized the government, none threatened to obstruct or overthrow it.57 In Masses Publishing Co. v. Patten, Judge Learned Hand agreed:

> "To {equate} agitation, legitimate as such, with direct incitement to violent resistance, is to disregard the tolerance of all methods of political agitation which in normal times is a safeguard of free government."58 The victory was short-lived, however; the same day it was released, it was stayed by a U.S. Circuit Court until the issue could be re-examined in Federal Circuit Court.59

In its September issue, John Reed wrote "One Solid Month of Liberty," which included this harsh critique of society:

> In America the month just past has been the blackest month for free men our generation has known. With a sort of hideous apathy the country has acquiesced in a regime of judicial tyranny, bureaucratic suppression and industrial barbarism, which followed inevitably the first fine careless rapture of militarism.60

When the September issues was submitted for mailing, the editors were told because the August issue had not gone through the mails, the magazine no longer qualifed as a monthly periodical and therefore did not qualify for second-class mailing privileges.61 In November, a circuit court upheld the constitionality of the Espionage Act, overruling Judge Hand's pro-Masses decision.62 Closed to the mails, the magazine's editors found dealers now unwilling to circulate the magazine for fear they, too, could be implicated.63

The Masses went out of business in December 1917. Its editors were then tried personally for violating the Espionage Act. Eastman, Young, Rogers, Dell, Reed, Glintenkamp and Bell were indicted for violating the Espionage Act by unlawfully and willfully obstructing the recuitment and enlistment of the United States.64 Only Eastman, Young, Dell, Rogers and Bell were present when the trial began in April 1918 in front of Judge Augustus Hand, Learned Hand's cousin.65 Reed was in Russia and Glintenkamp jumped bail and went to Mexico.66

Exhibits introduced by Assistant District Attorney Earl Barnes included articles by Eastman and Dell praising conscientious objectors; a poem by Bell dedicated to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman; Young's "Having Their Fling"; a drawing by Glintenkamp of a skeleton measuring a army recruit; and an article by Reed that cited the great frequency of mental disease among soldiers in the war.67 This had been published by the New York Tribune but no one on that paper was indicted.68

The Masses' editors were represented by two of the Socialist Party's leading politicians, Dudley Field Malone and Morris Hillquit.69 Having these two attorneys was a luxury afforded by few of the hundreds indicted under the Espionage Act. Hillquit got the indictment against Josephine Bell dismissed at the trial's outset after telling Judge Hand that she had never seen any of the defendants until she met them in the courtroom, making her part in a conspiracy impossible.70

To prove the lawfulness of their intent, Rogers testified he had met with Creel, who said he held The Masses' editors in "very high regard," read the magazine regularly, and once contributed an article.71. Creel's testimony was later stressed by Young, who said, "considering the vilification turned against anyone on trial for anti-war activities, such testimony was thankfully received, especially coming from the chief bugle-blower for war propaganda and the new militarism."72

Article by article, cartoon by cartoon, the prosecuting attorney, Earl Barnes, called on the writers and artists to defend their work.73 When Barnes asked Young why he drew the devil leading the band in his cartoon, the artist responded by saying: "Since General Sherman described war as hell, it seemed to me appropriate that the Devil should lead the band."74 The following exchange is indicative of how the writers and artists on The Masses were convinced that they had done nothing wrong:

> Barnes: What did you mean by the picture, "Having Their Fling?"
> Young: Meant? What do you mean, meant? You have the picture in front of you.
> Barnes: What did you intened to do when you drew this picture?
> Young: Intend to do? I intended to draw a picture.
> Barnes: For what purpose?
> Young: Why, to make people think -- to make them laugh -- to express my feelings. It isn't fair to ask an artist to go into the metaphysics of the art.
> Barnes: Had you intened to obstruct recruiting and enlistment by such pictures?
> Young: There isn't anything in there about recruiting and enlistment, is there? I don't believe in war, that's all, and I said so.75

In summation, Hillquit said Constitutional rights were not a gift, they were a conquest. "They can never be taken away, and if taken away, and if given back (later)," he said, "they will never again have the same potent vivifying force as expressing the democratic soul of a nation. They will be a gift to be given, to be taken . . ."76 He also summarized the editors' philosophy on the importance of the First Amendment:

> We accept this war as a fact, but we will not surrender our Constitutional rights of opinion and the freedom to express that opinion. Not for one day, not for one hour, will we surrender these Constitutional rights. No, not even in times of war, for the Government is

> founded upon the very principles of freedom of speech.77

The trial ended in a hung jury.78 A second trial in October 1918 also ended in a hung jury, and the case was dropped.79 In the first trial, Young wrote, he and the other editors were fortunate because their judge was Augustus Hand, who "had not been stampeded by the war mania, and he consistently tried to be fair in his rulings."80 In the second trial, their judge was Martin Manton, who also was sensitive toward free speech. Charging the jury, he said that Americans still had a right to criticize the government so long as they did not intend to hinder recruiting or cause disobedience in the armed forces.81

While some viewed the outcome as a victory for free speech and a defeat for government repression, John Reed, for one, did not agree. Eugene Debs, after all, had been convicted and sentenced to 10 years. And just after The Masses' editors had escaped punishment, a group of young Russian-Americans were given stiff sedition sentences in the same courtroom where Eastman, Reed, Dell, Young, and Glintenkamp had been freed.82 The different results for a similar offense was explained by a member of the district attorney's staff: "You are Americans. You looked like Americans. You can't convict an American for sedition before a New York judge."83

In three decisions in 1919, including Debs v. the U.S., the Supreme Court, with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes writing the opinion, would unanimously uphold the constitutionality of the Espionage Act.84 In Schenck v. the U.S., Justice Holmes would create the "clear and present danger" standard to decide when the government could limit free speech.85 Holmes would then echo Justice Hand's philosophy two years later in a dissenting opinion in Abrams v. United States:

> But when men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas -- that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market . . . That at any rate is the theory of our Constitution. While that experiment is part of our system I think that we should be be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interferences with the lawful and pressure purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country.86

This was the philosophical beginnings of greater protection for civil liberties in this country. The press cannot rely on the courts to safeguard their freedoms. The press must be vigilant to challenge any attempt to restrict its freedom. Restrictions on unpopular speech threaten all speech. Unfortunately the press has too often acquiesced when expression is threatened, whether during the McCarthyism of the 50s or during the so-called political correctness of the 90s, or has merely abandoned its duty to scrutinize the government's workings.

By taking away those rights of free expression guaranteed by the First Amendment during the First World War, the government rendered the First Amendment meaningless. If the First Amendment protects only those who agree, it protects nothing. It is most valuable in times of crisis, yet it becomes most expendable during times of crises. The First Amendment means nothing to the magazine or newspaper that cannot afford to publish. It also means little to the newspaper or magazine that does not scrutinize the activities of its public officials. In the final analysis, the First Amendment belongs only to those who fight for it. The Masses' writers and artists understood this. They are worth remembering.

ENDNOTES

1 The Espionage Act. 30 Stat. 217 (1917). TITLE XII of the Espionage Act forbade mailing any matter violating the Act, or advocating treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States.

2 Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press* (Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, CA, 1984), 100.

3 George Juergens, *News From the White House* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 196, and Kessler, *The Dissident Press*, 129.

4 Rebecca Zurier, *Art for The Masses (1911-1917): A Radical Magazine and its Graphics* (Yale University Art Gallery: New Haven, Connecticut, 1985), 106.

5 Juergens, 203.

6 Ibid.

7 Robert L. Spellman, "Pricking the Mighty: The Law and Editorial Cartooning," *Communications and the Law* (December 1988), 51.

8 Joseph Conlin, *The Radical Press in America*, I (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1974) p. 538.

9 Ibid.

10 James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* (Monthly Review Press: New York, 1967) p. 27, and Kessler, 129.

11 Weinstein, 85.

12 Conlin, 9.

13 Upton Sinclair, *The Brass Check* (Long Beach: Privately published by the author, 1928).

14 Flyd Dell, *Homecoming* (New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1933), 252.

15 William O'Neill, *Echoes of Revolt: The Masses, 1911-1917*, (Quadrangle Books: Chicago, 1966), 19, and Zurier, 22. Artist John Sloan said, "The strange thing was that if I had a good idea I gave it to *The Masses*. If I got a second-rate one, I might sell it to Harper's, but I could never get the same feeling when I was working for pay." See Zurier, 30.

16 Zurier, 18.

17 Zurier, 29-33. For an account of *The Masses*' editorial meetings, see O'Neill, 18; Fitzgerald, *Art and Politics*, (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 1973), 13, 15-16; Conlin, 532; and Art Young, *His Life and Times*, p. 271.

18 Ibid, p. 33.

19 Robert Rosenstone, *Romantic Revolutionary* (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1975), 110. While testifying at the second Masses trial, John Reed told about one editorial

meeting: "I brought this poem. I did not tell who wrote the poem. I gave it to somebody to read, and they read the poem out loud, and the meeting voted it down, whereupon I proclaimed my identity and insisted it should go in, even if everybody, all the editors and readers disliked it. I insisted it go in, and it did go in."

20 Zurier, 15.

21 "Wilson wrote to Eastman," *New York Times*, April 19, 1918, p. 11. Art Young wrote that Eastman had been fired from Columbia for his outspoken opinions on the social conflict of the times. See Young, 275.

22 See Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living* (Harper and Brothers: New York, 1948), pp. 455-463; Fitzgerald, 14; and Zurier, 34.

23 Eastman, 456,461.

24 *The Masses*, January, 1913, 2.

25 "The Latest," *The Masses*, May 1916, 23.

26 Zurier, 27.

27 Max Eastman, "The Worst Monopoly," *The Masses*, July 1913, 6.

28 For an account of *The Masses's* lawsuits with the Associated Press, see Floyd Dell, "Indicted for Criminal Libel," *The Masses*, January 1914, 3; Young, 295-301; Eastman, 467-473; and Dell, 250.

29 Eastman, 467.

30 Dell, "Indicted for Criminal Libel," 6.

31 For an account of the Cooper Union rally, see, "Hard Words for the Newspapers," *The New York Times*, March 6, 1914, 1; Young, 297-298; and Eastman, 469-470.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid, 473; Young, 299; and Zurier, 28.

34 O'Neill, 33.

35 "The Masses v. Ward and Gow," *The Masses*, September 1916, 8, and "Are We Indecent?" *The Masses*, September 1916, 21. Also, see Eastman, 474-475.

36 "Are We Indecent?" *The Masses*, September 1916, 21.

37 Eastman, 474.

38 Zurier, 28.

39 O'Neill, 39, and Zurier, 28.

40 "Sumner v. Forel," *The Masses*, November 1916, 17.

41 Espionage Act 30 Stat. 217 (1917).

42 O.A. Hilton, "Freedom of the Press in Wartime, 1917-1919," *Southeastern Social Science Quarterly* 28 (1948), 348-349.

43 Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (W.W. Norton: New York, 1979), 144.

44 O'Neill, 246.

45 For a discussion of George Creel and the Committee on Public Information, see Stephen L. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines* (Chappel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

46 Sephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1968), 140.

47 Fitzgerald, 82, and Zurier, 40. Lofton wrote that apart from German-American and socialist papers, the Hearst papers were the ones most often accused of disloyalty. Having bitterly opposed the United States entry into the war, the Hearst papers continued to be critical of the allies but in general supported the American war effort. Their equivocal attitude, however, caused them to be widely attacked. The New York Tribune ran a cartoon showing a snake coiled in the flag, with the snake's body spelling the legend, "Hears-ss-ss-st. Former President Roosevelt asked why the mailing privileges of the Hearst papers were not suspended, and some Republicans said Hearst escaped because he was a Democrat, Unlike Hearst -- who suffered no long-term consequences, though his papers did temporarily lose circulation because of their carping attitude -- Oswald Garrison Villard was forced to sell his New York Post after his expression of pacifist and civil libertarian views brought a serious decline in its fortunes. See, Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years -- 1690-1940 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940), 627; W.A. Swanberg, Citizen Hearst (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 312; and Edwin Emery and Henry Ladd Smith, The Press and America, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1954), 594-595.

48 O'Neil, 245.

49 John Reed, "Whose War?" The Masses, April 1917, 11.

50 Max Eastman, "Advertising Democracy," The Masses, June 1917, 5.

51 "The Censor," The Masses, June 1917, 23. See, George Creel, "Rockefeller's Law," The Masses, July 1915, 5.

52 Young, 319.

53 John Reed, "One Solid Month of Liberty," The Masses, September 1917, 5.

54 Donald Johnson, The Challenge to American Freedom (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1963), 71.

55 Juergens, News from the White House, 198.

56 Masses Publishing Co. v. Patten, 244 Federal Reporter 538 (1917).

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid. Legal scholar Zechariah Chafee preferred the "direct incitement" test of Hand's to the "clear and present danger" test fashioned by Oliver Wendall Holmes' two years later in Schenck v. U.S. because it was more speech protective. See, Donald L. Smith, "Zechariah Chafee Jr. and the Positive View of Press Freedom," Journalism History, 5:3 (Autumn 1978), 87. Also, see Schenck v. U.S. 249 U.S. 47 (1919). For a discussion of Masses v. Patten, 244 Federal Reporter 538. See, Hershel Shanks, The Art and Craft of Judging (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1968), 84-97, and Gerald Gunther, "Learned

Hand and the Origins of Modern First Amendment Doctrine: Some Fragments of History," 27 Stanford Law Review, 719.
59 246 Federal Reporter 24 (2d Cir. 1917).
60 Reed, "One Solid Month of Liberty," The Masses, September 1917, 5.
61 Ibid.
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84 See Schenck v. U.S., 249 U.S. 47 (1919); Frohwerk v. U.S. (1919); and Debs v. U.S., 249 U.S. 211 (1919).
85 Schenck v. U.S.., 249 U.S. 47 (1919).
86 Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616, 624 (1919).

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Newspapers' Locally Edited Magazines
Seek Ways to Maintain Place in Market

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Newspapers' Locally Edited Magazines Seek Ways To Maintain Place in Market

Locally edited magazines once held a prominent place in the nation's daily newspapers and in the minds and hearts of Sunday newspaper readers. They were well-written and well-read. They introduced their readers to interesting people, places, and things. They described and discussed the community's history, its achievements, and its needs. They were colorful, much more colorful than the rest of the Sunday newspaper. They offered advertisers an appealing place to display their goods and services. They added much prestige to the parent product, and there were a lot of them. As recently as the late 1970s there were 187 of these magazines, or supplements as they are sometimes called to the dismay of their editors, listed in the source books. Most of the nation's large dailies and many of its smaller ones had a locally produced magazine to distribute along with, or in place of, Parade and Family Weekly, the principal survivors of the once crowded syndicated magazine field. But their situation changed dramatically for the worse in the 1980s. Parade and Family Weekly, and its successor USA Weekend, continued to do reasonably well economically. But many locally edited magazines were eliminated as newspapers searched for places to cut costs and streamline their operations. By the end of 1993 there were only 53 locally edited magazines left and a few of them were said to be in financial trouble. Highly regarded magazines at the Portland Oregonian, Denver Post, Des Moines Register, St. Petersburg Times, Louisville Courier-Journal, New Orleans Times-Picayune, and Atlanta Journal-Constitution were among the casualties. At the time of their elimination, many of the magazines still had strong editorial content and many still ranked high in readership studies at their newspapers. Others had lost their editorial excellence as their funding declined.

Many possible reasons have been suggested for the demise of these once-influential publications within a publication. Some suggest that they lost their edge when color became common throughout the newspaper and in inserts and mailers. Tom Shroder, executive editor of the Miami Herald's Tropic Magazine, noted in late 1991 that when Sunday magazines were originally conceived, there was no color available in the ROP newspaper, but now the local advertiser who needs color can go just about anywhere in the newspaper. Shroder noted also that the magazines and their parent newspapers face a host of other color competitors such as preprints and direct mail. [1] Lee Walburn, former editor of the Journal-Constitution's Atlanta Weekly who now edits Atlanta magazine, said the newspapers cannibalized their magazines when they allowed the distribution of preprints for retailers. He said as a result the department stores no longer depended on the Sunday magazine for exposure. [2] Jim Davy, president of Metropolitan Sunday Newspapers, a cooperative advertising sales association serving Sunday magazines, expressed concern in the early 1980s that newspapers were hurting themselves by running preprint advertising inserts instead of selling advertisements in the magazines. [3]

Some editors also attribute the decline to the fact that the magazines are often costly to produce and that as a separate entity may be more vulnerable and ultimately expendable. Fred Mann, editor of Inquirer Magazine in the Philadelphia Inquirer, said Sunday magazines are in many ways an easy target for executives who are looking at hard times in the market and suddenly see a part of their paper that is most costly to produce. [4] Many of these magazines are vulnerable because they have lost advertising, but many of their editors do not think such losses by themselves should be a sufficient cause for elimination. They point out that the magazines almost invariably are among the most popular parts of the newspaper and that other sections with limited advertising are retained. Mann said he wonders how many publishers look at their paper and say, "Gee, I wonder if the sports section is making money?" [5] Walburn pointed out that newspapers retain editorial pages, which seldom have advertising, and sports pages, which have a relatively small amount considering the high costs involved. [6]

Others attribute the magazines' difficulties to other things, including the loss of national advertising to national magazines such as Parade and USA Weekend and the increased use of the flexible writing style they helped develop by other sections of the newspaper. "Even in the big cities, the national advertising becomes much harder to get, and in some cases impossible, because of the arrangements that USA Weekend and Parade make with national advertisers," said Lary Bloom, editor of Northeast, the award-winning magazine of the Hartford Courant. "That's a given. That's not open to dispute."[7] It is good writing that Sunday magazine editors generally cite as their product's most important contribution to the newspaper, and like the use of color, that contribution is no longer confined to the magazine. "We've lost our uniqueness," said Denis Gosselin, editor of the Chicago Tribune Magazine. "There is magazine writing throughout all of the newspaper now." [8]

Some suggest that the decline in numbers has resulted from the fact that advertising directors and publishers just don't understand Sunday magazines and their potential. Lary Bloom of Northeast said judging a magazine by its bottom line is only one criterion and a standard other newspaper sections aren't held to. "You can't single out the prestige a magazine brings to a newspaper," he said. "When you think of Northeast, you think of a polished product that stands for the commitment the Hartford Courant has made in the community, and that the Hartford Courant stands for quality." [9] Others assert that some Sunday magazines lack a clear focus or direction when compared to city magazines and other publications. Tony Silber said in a July 1991 Folio article that while city magazines have a singular focus, the purpose and direction of a Sunday newspaper magazine is much more nebulous. "Depending on which department you ask," he said," they may be characterized as a profit center, a reader bonus or a showcase for editorial." [10] Others give other reasons for the decline in numbers. [11]

Some answers as to why more than 130 magazines have been closed in the past 14 years may be found in what the 53 survivors are doing right. Magazines at the Hartford Courant, the Chicago Tribune, The New York Times, and a number of other newspapers have continued to serve effectively. Their approaches may provide some guidance for magazines that are struggling or for newspapers that might consider reopening magazines now shut down.

Improved graphics, the use of theme issues, cooperative ventures in advertising, changes in production methods and paper, changes in physical size, more interpretive reporting, increased use of commentary, and various other approaches all have been tried or proposed to help keep or make Sunday magazines viable. [12] Many agree with Linda Mathews, editor of the Los Angeles Times Magazine, that the editorial environment, not the format, will determine the success of Sunday magazines in the 1990s. "We're competing for the reader's attention not only with the rest of the newspaper but with the whole rest of the world of magazines," she said. "The struggle is to give our magazines an identity." [13] Different magazines likely will take different routes toward that identify. Mathews said her magazine plans to do this by focusing its articles closer to the news, by hitting issues that matter to people. "Sunday magazines can be distinctive by taking a stand, by being more opinionated and sassier than the rest of the newspaper," she said. [14] As the 1990s began, many editors also agreed with Ande Zellman, editor of the Boston Globe Magazine, that it's premature to sound the death knell for the category. "These magazines reach millions of readers every Sunday," she said. "The demographics are excellent; the editorial environment is very good. Isn't that an advertiser's dream? Sunday magazines represent a great untapped potential." [15]

In a fairly recent development, The New York Times announced a complete redesign of its magazine in the fall of 1993. Plans called for the magazine to have a major centerpiece article; other articles usually confined to one page; a variety of features, including a personality profile, narrative photo stories, commentary, and new rotating columns by Times writers. Travel, fashion, food and recipes, design, and beauty were included in the plan. [16]

The current study, which is a partial replication of one done in 1979 for presentation to the 30th Annual Editorial Conference of Locally Edited Gravure Magazines in Louisville, Ky., seeks to 1) affirm or reject the explanations suggested by some leading editors for the demise of many newspapers' magazines and the continued success of others, 2) discover and explore other possible explanations suggested by additional editors, and 3) determine, if possible, what the magazines can do to remain or become economically viable as well as popular sections of their newspapers. [16] This paper will report the results of the current study, compare them with the results of the 1979 study, and discuss what the editors think can be done to keep or make the magazines viable. Magazine editors at newspapers in New York, Boston, Providence, Chicago, Los Angeles, and most other cities where newspapers' magazines are being published provided information for the study.

Methodology

A current list of newspapers' magazines was compiled by exploring all possible listings in the 1993 Editor & Publisher Yearbook. It was determined that some magazines listed in the yearbook were no longer being published and that others which appeared to be magazines were entertainment guides or other special sections. Ultimately, a total of 53 newspapers' magazines were identified and sent a cover letter and four-page questionnaire requesting information. Several open-ended questions were included, but most were either short-answer or multiple-choice. Those magazines that had not responded after three weeks were sent a follow-up letter and questionnaire, and those that still had not responded after six weeks were called by telephone. Usable answers were received from 46 magazines or 87% of the total.

Results

Information received was grouped into six areas for discussion and for comparison with the results of the similar study conducted in 1979. They are 1) overview, including roles and functions, primary areas of coverage, the magazine's relationship to its parent newspaper, possible reasons for the closing of many newspapers' magazines in the past decade, and potential magazine competition; 2) content, including types of articles, features and other editorial materials used and advertising; 3) issues covered and perceived influence; 4) staff, including the use of free-lance writers as well as full-time and part-time staff members; 5) publication data, including information about printing methodology, grade of paper used, magazine size, and the average number of pages in each issue; and 6) changes and trends at the individual magazines and in the field generally.

1. Overview. Several changes were noted between 1979 and 1994 in how editors define their roles or functions. Almost all (89%), as compared with 90% in 1979, regard providing profiles of interesting people as an important role or function. But the percentages that identified providing information about living in the city and lifestyles and providing information about food, travel and entertainment as important rose from 59% to 76% and 55% to 76%, respectively. The number that identified pointing out community problems and needs as important rose from 29% to 54% while the percentage that identified offering a change of

pace from the heavy materials elsewhere in the newspaper dropped from 68% to 52%. (See Table 2).

Respondents were divided as to which role or function is most important; providing information about living in the city and lifestyles and providing information about food, travel, and entertainment each drew 15% of the votes as most important. Eighteen other roles were mentioned as most important by at least one editor. Several of these referred to good writing and reporting: "in-depth, enterprise reporting," a "vehicle for excellent writing," "providing a 'good read' in a hard news-oriented newspaper," and providing a "showcase for good writing and graphics."

Almost half of the magazines, 46% in each study, identified the "city and surrounding counties" as their primary area of coverage. The percentage emphasizing "city and state" as primary dropped from 23% to 17%, and the percentage emphasizing "regional coverage" dropped slightly from 16% to 15%. The percentage emphasizing the "city of publication" as primary rose from 2% to 15%, and the percentage emphasizing "national coverage" remained at 3%. (See Table 1.)

It's difficult to generalize about which readers are targeted by newspapers' magazines. Individual magazines may have specific groups in mind for their publications, such as "adults, 25 to 45"; "well-educated adults, 21 and older"; or "women, 18-49." But the common links in these divergent target lists are pretty much limited to adults who enjoy reading. A similar open-ended question in 1979 drew a somewhat similar response, but 35% at that time did say they were trying to reach all their newspaper's readers.

The percentage of magazines that said they "make money on their own" dropped from 41% in 1979 to 30%, but the percentage that said they "break even and help draw readers" rose from 20% to 26%. The percentage that require a "small subsidy but help draw readers" remained at 17%, and the percentage that "require a subsidy but help draw readers" rose only from 20 to 22%. It must be remembered, of course, that many not so fortunate as these were closed during the period between studies. (See Table 4).

Almost three-fourths (74%) of the editors cited the fact that their magazines are "seen as a separate, expendable part of the newspaper" as being in part responsible for the reduction in the number of newspapers' magazines in recent years. Almost three-fifths (59%) cited "the loss of national advertising to Parade and USA Weekend" and expensive methods of printing, expensive paper stock, or both, as reasons, and 57% cited the "expanded use of color elsewhere in the newspaper." Exactly half cited "increased use of inserts and direct mailers," and a "lack of a clear editorial purpose or direction." (See Table 11.)

Approximately three-fourths of the newspapers carry at least one other magazine as a supplement. More than half (52%) carry Parade; 15% carry USA Weekend, and 11% carry other supplements such as Vista.

2. Content. The personality sketch, used by 87% of the magazines in 1979 and 85% in 1994, was the most popular type of articles used. The percentage using narrative articles jumped from 54% to 87%, and the percentage using essays jumped from 27% to 70%. while the percentage using utility or how-to articles dropped from 48% to 24%. (See Table 7.)

Several major changes were noted in the percentages using special features, and lesser changes were noted in the percentage using other materials such as columns and reviews. The percentage using a crossword puzzle doubled from 30% to 61%, and the percentage using home-design features doubled from 23% to 48% while the percentage using arts-entertainment fell from 62% to 50%, and the percentage using features for teens dropped from 32% to 7%. (See Table 8.) The percentage using columns increased from 63% to 85%; the percentage using cartoons increased from 38% to 46%, and the percentage using letters increased from 28% to 39% while the percentage using reviews dropped from 53% to 46%. (See Table 6.)

More than two-thirds (70%) of the magazines, up slightly from 65% in 1979, said they use theme issues at times. Twenty-eight different themes were mentioned, including fashion, noted by 25%; homes, noted by 20%; and health, noted by 15%. Some themes are repeated each year. Some such as one which examined multiculturalism in the community during the previous 10 years and another looking at early movie theaters in the community are likely to run less frequently. Recreational activities, travel, fashion, home furnishings and decorating were the most often used themes in 1979. Several magazines such as The New York Times Magazine use theme sections as a Part 2 of the magazine.

Questions concerning how many articles the magazines use in each issue and the approximate length in words of typical articles drew widely varied responses. Almost 30% said they use between six and eight articles an issue, but many gave answers such as "three articles plus standing features," "two features and six to eight columns," "two features and four columns," or "two major articles and many short pieces." Lengths cited also varied greatly. More than half indicated their articles usually run fewer than 3,000 words, but again many run different lengths for different emphases such as "cover, 2,000 words, second article, 1,000 to 1,500 words, and third article, 800 words."

Advertisements for home furnishings, used by 72% in 1979 and 74% in 1994, head the list of products and services advertised. The percentage using clothing increased from 55% to 70%, and the percentage using foods rose from 51% to 59%. Several categories not mentioned widely in 1979 were popular in 1994. These include entertainment, mentioned by 72%; travel-tourism and jewelry, each 65%, personal care and audio-video, each 57%, coupons, 48%, and others. (See Table 5.)

Most of the magazines rely on local advertising. Almost a third (30%) said all of their advertising is local; more than half (54%) said more than 90% of it is local; and almost three-fourths (74%) said three-fourths of it is local.

3. Issues and Influence. More than half of the magazines said they provide information on local issues in areas such as government, education, and crime; 41% said they do so "often" and 22% said they do "occasionally." Only 13% said they "never" do; 24% said they "seldom" do.

Almost two-thirds (65%) said they had provided information on education and on social programs during the previous year; 63% said they had provided information on the environment, 61% said they had provided information on health, and 50% said they had provided information on business and on crime. (See Table 9.)

More than two-thirds of the magazines said they believe their coverage of local issues has had an influence on their readers. While only 9% said they thought it had "much" influence, 33% said it had "considerable" influence, and 26% said it had "limited" influence. Only 2% said they did not believe it had any influence. The others said they "don't know" or skipped the question.

4. Staff. Questions regarding the number of full-time and part-time staff members and the percentage of editorial material provided by free-lance writers drew varied answers. About a third of the magazines indicated that they employ four or more full-time staff members; 48% said they have three or fewer full-time staff members; the others indicated a variety of combinations of full-time and part-time employees.

While many of the magazines use articles from free-lance writers, only 35% said they get 50% or more of their editorial material from them. Slightly more than half (52%) said they get 30% or less of their material from free-lance writers.

5. Publication Data. More than half of the magazines (54%), as compared with 39% in 1979, are printed by offset lithography; 24%, down from 30%, are printed by gravure; and 15%, down from 29%, are printed by letterpress. (See Table 3.)

Exactly half indicated that their magazines are printed on a higher grade of paper than the newsprint of the regular newspaper. Almost that many (48%) indicated they are not; one did not answer the question. One using a better grade of paper mentioned plans to adopt newsprint in the near future as a cost-saving measure.

Nineteen different dimensions were listed in response to an open-ended question asking about the physical size of the magazine. The largest number, 22%, said their magazines are 10 by 11 1/2 inches; 17% simply said they are tabloids without specifying an exact size in inches. Most of the others fall in this general area.

Many different figures also were given in response to a question seeking the average number of pages in each issue. More than half (59%) of the averages given by the magazines fell between 16 and 28 pages.

6. Changes and Trends. More than three-fourths (76%) of the respondents cited the use of more attractive design and art work as a trend in newspapers' magazines today. Slightly more than three-fifths (61%) cited offering a change of pace from

heavy material elsewhere in the newspaper, and 57% cited providing in-depth coverage of local issues. (See Table 10.)

As expected, an open-ended question asking editors to suggest changes magazines are making, or could make, to compete successfully in the 1990s drew varied responses, but there were some clusters and there were several individual comments that seem noteworthy. More than two-fifths (43%) of the editors -- 67% of those who answered the open-ended question -- commented on the need to clarify the magazine's mission, and almost a fourth (24%) of the editors -- 37% of those who answered the question -- cited a need to work more closely with advertising departments in explaining the magazine's roles and selling its potential for helping advertisers reach readers.

Comments regarding mission included admonitions such as "develop a clearer mission," "choose a focus and stick with it," "reflect the people and places of this area," "be more relevant to readers," "provide narrative stories with emotional impact that explain the life of a time and place," "have a strong personality and develop a relationship with newspaper readers," focus -- and deliver," "develop a strong, unique, independent, courageous literary voice," "be more in tune with people's lives," be sensitive to readers' interests, concerns," "maintain high standards of quality while trying new things," stay LOCAL," "be more issue-oriented," and "hang on until the public rediscovers the joys of reading."

To hang on, the magazines must find support from advertisers, convince publishers that their service is vital to the newspaper even without a lot of advertising, or both. Comments from several editors indicated that to get increases in advertising they must first convince their newspaper's advertising department of their value. Several said that advertising departments did not know what their magazines are doing and didn't appear sufficiently interested in finding out. One editor noted, for example, that a focus group study two years earlier had found that the magazine was the third best-read section of the paper, yet no attempt had been made to capitalize on this or to sell the magazine on the basis of its strong demographics. Another editor suggested that magazines should go after more specific markets that could be targeted by advertisers. A third said advertising rates should be reduced to reach smaller advertisers, and a fourth said reducing the lead time for publication could draw more advertisers. Still another suggested offering to place advertisements next to standing columns could help. Several cited the importance of emphasizing local events and issues, and several said a stronger commitment from advertising departments is essential to success.

Theme issues may be one way to attract advertising, and 70% of the respondents indicated that they have used them at times. The themes mentioned most often are fashion, used by 25%; homes, used by 20%; and health, used by 15%. Some run theme sections as a second part of the magazine. Almost two-thirds (65%) of the respondents in 1979 said they used theme issues at times.

Editors who see their magazines as vehicles for informing and influencing their communities may reject an approach to getting advertisers that one editor said had worked there. The editor said that the magazine had replaced in-depth articles with a lifestyle/entertainment format and become profitable again.

More pessimism than optimism was noted in responses to an open-ended question about changes or trends the editors expect in the field in the next five to 10 years. About half the editors declined to comment, which in itself may be a negative. Of those that did comment, the negative or pessimistic statements outnumbered the positive by more than two to one.

Typical of negative comments were the following: "There may not be a newspaper magazine field in five years"; "Failure of more newspapers' magazines"; "See them dwindling due to economy and the fact that they're the first to go in hard economic times"; "More magazines will fold"; "They have to improve, faster than their mother ships, or they'll be swamped by the competition from inside as well as out"; "I think magazines will continue to disappear, not because they serve no purpose, but because publishers see them as expendable."

Some editors were positive, or at least hopeful: "I think magazines will make a comeback as newspapers realize that people want their news placed in a wider context"; "Will stabilize, I think"; "We hope to get a better grade of stock, use more color, get national advertisers, expand the page count, and continue to upgrade our contributors' list to get more and better writers."

Some comments were both positive and negative: "I hope the decline in the number of magazines will slow as the remaining ones demonstrate some hardiness in an inhospitable climate. But I suspect the trend to cost cutting (cheaper paper and printing) will accelerate"; "We've formed an editorial-advertising hit squad to solve the magazine's problems"; and "More will die. Eventually the form will be rediscovered/reinvented."

Observations and Conclusions

Many locally edited newspapers' magazines, including some that have been praised for their editorial quality, were closed down in the 1980s and early 1990s for economic reasons. As a result, only about 50 remain, and some of them could be eliminated unless steps are taken to overcome the continuing challenges that these magazines face.

Magazine editors have identified at least a half dozen contributing factors to their economic problems and the subsequent decline in numbers of magazines. At times, they are seen as a separate, expendable part of the newspaper; they have lost national advertising to Parade and USA Weekend, the major national newspaper magazines; they have lost local advertising to inserts and direct mailers; they have been hurt by the expanded use of color and the more flexible writing styles now used elsewhere in their newspapers; their methods of printing and paper stock are expensive; and they sometimes lack a clear editorial purpose or direction.

The decline in the number of locally edited newspapers' magazines can be reversed if staff members produce quality products that readers want to read and if publishers and advertising directors will open their minds to the magazines' achievements and potential. The challenge will be especially great for magazines facing strong local competition, but they can take a number of steps to be competitive and remain viable.

Editors must define their missions clearly and produce attractive, readable products that will entice and satisfy the newspapers' readers. They must tailor their approach to their readers. Some may want to provide a literary emphasis, perhaps including fiction, not found elsewhere in the newspaper. Good story-telling has been a strength of many good magazines in the past. Some may want to complement the editorial pages by offering information and opinion in a different format. Almost two-thirds of the editors said they provide information on local issues often (41%) or occasionally (22%), and more than two thirds said they believe their coverage of local issues has had some influence on readers. Some may want to emphasize providing information on living in the city, lifestyles, food, travel, and entertainment. This coverage has become more prevalent in recent years. Roles are likely to vary from community to community, and more than one may be appropriate.

Publishers must accept the idea that newspapers' magazines contribute significantly to the overall success of the newspaper, including its economic viability, even if they do not attract enough advertising to pay for themselves. Publishers must see the magazines as most of them see editorial pages, sports pages, and other sections that are vital to the success of the whole even if they cost more to produce than is derived from the advertising carried in their pages.

Advertising directors must understand how the magazines can be attractive to some of their clients and make a greater effort to sell advertising in them. They must present the magazines' potential to local advertisers and explore cooperative ventures to attract more national and regional advertising.

Editors and publishers should explore with their counterparts at successful magazines what works for them and why. Almost a third of the magazines are making money on their own, and more than half at least break even.

The pessimism reflected in answers to survey questions, especially the open-ended questions about changes and trends, is understandable in light of the number of editorially impressive magazines that have been closed in the past decade or so. The total has fallen from 187 to 53 in 14 years. The pessimistic responses outnumbered optimistic ones by about two to one. But the optimistic view can still prevail if the newspaper's top executives will give the magazines a chance and the magazines will clearly define and successfully pursue useful roles that other sections of the newspaper cannot perform, or perform as well.

Notes

1. Mark Fitzgerald, "Ironic victims of newspaper color," Editor & Publisher, September 28, 1991, pp. 8C-9C, 34C.

2. Interview with Lee Walburn, editor of Atlanta magazine, and former editor of Atlanta Weekly, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution magazine, March 23, 1994.

3. Charles Buffum, "Sunday Best: Newspaper Magazines and a Parade of Weekend Reading," Washington Journalism Review, October, 1983, p. 33.

4. Fitzgerald, "Ironic victims...," p. 8C.

5. Ibid.

6. Walburn Interview, March 23, 1994.

7. Tony Silber, "Are Sunday Supplements bad news for Regionals?" Folio, July, 1991, p. 54.

8. Fitzgerald, "Ironic victims," 34C.

9. Chris Woodword, "Northeast gives Courant new direction," Advertising Age, January 24, 1985, p. 38.

10. Silber, "Are Sunday Supplements..., p. 54.

11. Mitchell J. Shields, "Sunday magazines: Do they deserve to survive?" Columbia Journalism Review, July/August, 1986, pp. 35-40.

12. Alan Rosenthal, "Fighting to Keep Their Niche," Advertising Age, May 24, 1989, p. 20.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. "The Times Magazine Getting New Look," The New York Times, September 20, 1993, p. C-7.

17. Ernest C. Hynds, "A Look at Newspapers' Magazines," a paper prepared for presentation to the 30th Annual Editorial Conference of Locally Edited Gravure Magazines at Louisville, Ky., April, 1979; Hynds,"Survey examines status of newspapers' magazines, Editor & Publisher, July 7, 1979, pp. 32-33.

Table 1
Percentage of Magazines That Emphasize Coverage of the Area Listed

	1979	1994
City and Area Counties	46%	46%
City and State	23%	17%
Regional Emphasis	16%	15%
National Emphasis	3%	3%
City of Publication	2%	15%
Other	10%	4%
	N=92	N=46

Table 2
Percentage of Magazines That Regard Roles, Functions Listed as Important

	1979	1994
Provide Change of Pace from Heavy Materials Elsewhere in Paper	68%	52%
Provide Information on Living In City, Lifestyles	59%	76%
Provide Information on Food, Travel Entertainment	55%	76%
Point Out Community Problems, Needs	29%	54%
Promote Local Business, Including Tourism	14%	15%
Other	28%	72%
	N=92	N=46

Table 3
Percentage of Magazines That Use Method of Printing Listed

	1979	1994
Offset	39%	54%
Gravure	30%	24%
Letterpress	29%	15%
Dilitho	2%	2%
No Answer	0%	5%
	N=84*	N=46

* Eight of the 92 respondents did not answer the question.

Table 4
Percentage of Editors Who Describe Their Economic Relationship To Their Newspaper in Terms Listed

	1979	1994
Makes Money on Its Own	41%	30%
Breaks Even, Helps Draw Readers to Newspaper	20%	26%
Requires Small Subsidy But Helps Draw Readers	17%	17%
Requires Subsidy But Helps Draw Readers	20%	22%
Other	2%	5%
	N=82*	N=46

* Ten of the 92 respondents did not answer this question.

Table 5
Percentage of Magazines That Use Types of Advertising Listed

	1979	1994
Home Furnishings	72%	74%
Clothing	55%	70%
Foods	51%	59%
Tobacco-Cigarettes	28%	33%
Alcoholic Beverages	23%	37%
Automobiles	23%	43%
Classified	7%	39%
Other	38%	35%*
	N=92	N=46

* Several types of advertising that were not frequently mentioned in 1979 were listed by substational numbers of magazines in 1994. These included entertainment, mentioned by 72%; travel-tourism and jewelry, each 65%; personal care and audio-video, each 57%; coupons, 48%; schools and colleges, 43%; real estate, 35%; and insurance, 33%.

Table 6
Percentage of Magazines That Use With Some Regularity Types of Materials Listed

	1979	1994
Columns	63%	85%
Reviews	53%	46%
Cartoons	38%	46%
Letters	28%	39%
Condensed Books	15%	15%
Poetry	11%	17%
Jokes	7%	11%
Fiction	4%	9%
Other	49%	61%

Table 7
Percentage of Magazines That Use Types of Articles Listed

	1979	1994
Personality Sketch	87%	85%
Interview Article	68%	63%
General Narrative	54%	87%
Utility (How-to)	48%	24%
Essay	27%	70%
Other	64%	61%
	N=92	N=46

Table 8
Percentage of Magazines That Use Types of Special Features Listed

	1979	1994
Arts-Entertainment	62%	50%
Features for Teens	32%	7%
Crossword	30%	61%
Yards-Gardening	29%	33%
Dining-Restaurants	28%	35%
Questions/Answers	23%	35%
Home-Design	23%	48%
Sports	22%	22%
Features for Children	20%	17%
Health-Beauty	14%	17%
Quotation as Feature	3%	9%
Other	15%	57%
	N=92	N=46

Table 9
Percentage of Magazines That Provided Information on Local Issues Listed in the Past Year*

Education	65%	Business	50%	Transportation	15%
Social Programs	65%	Crime	50%	Planning/Zoning	13%
Environment	63%	Government Reform	26%	Traffic	9%
Health	61%	Human Rights	26%		

Table 10
Percentage of Magazines That Identified Developments Listed as Trends in Newspapers' Magazines Today*

Using more attractive design and art work:	76%
Offering change of pace from heavy material elsewhere in paper:	61%
Providing in-depth coverage of local issues:	57%
Providing extensive information to help readers help themselves:	50%
Making extensive use of free-lance articles:	48%
Using an upgraded paper stock:	30%
Reduced size of magazine (length x width):	17%
Other	11%

Table 11
Percentage of Magazines That Identified Developments Listed as Being in Part Responsible for Decline In Numbers of Newspapers' Magazines*

Magazines seen as separate, expendable part of the newspaper:	74%
Expensive methods of printing, expensive paper stock, or both:	59%
Loss of national advertising to Parade, USA Weekend:	59%
Expanded use of color elsewhere in the newspaper:	57%
Lack of clear editorial purpose or direction:	50%
Advertisers' increased use of inserts, direct mailers:	50%
Flexible writing style no longer confined to magazine:	43%
Increased competition from city and regional magazines:	28%
Other	3%

*These questions were added in 1994.

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Patriotism and Profits:
A Content Analysis of World War II Magazine Advertising
Containing War Themes

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Abstract:

This content analysis of a sample of advertising from *Fortune*, *Life* and *Ladies' Home Journal* during World War II examines advertising that incorporates war themes. The war content tended to be primary in 1941-42 but secondary or limited to a logo in later years, and *Fortune's* advertisers were most strongly drawn to war themes. Ads tended to use the war to sell products or corporate images rather than promote U.S. government messages.

Patriotism and Profits:
A Content Analysis of World War II Magazine Advertising Containing War Themes

Background:

Advertising is part of the changing social, cultural and business environment, and its success depends on the ability of the advertiser to predict and react to a changing society.[1] All media, including ads, respond in similar ways to external circumstances, such as war, and thus the content of advertising reflects what advertisers think about their audiences and the world.[2]

Advertisers were confused and under attack in the early 1940s. Advertising had lost its familiar marketing role while industry converted to wartime production and reduced output of peacetime goods and services. In 1940 the Federal Trade Commission requested $88,000 from Congress to investigate the effects of advertising on the cost of distribution, and advertisers heard rumors that the Department of Justice was considering antitrust prosecution.[3] Advertising was not highly regarded, and many firms feared that the decline in consumerism during the war would wound advertising mortally.[4] So, it was not surprising that advertisers would seek an acceptable role after Pearl Harbor and embrace new advertising opportunities. Companies turned from selling goods and services to selling ideas through "institutional" and "good-will" ads, which were a way to keep their names in the public eye until they could make consumer goods available once again.[5]

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[1] J. Thomas Russell and Ronald Lane, eds., *Kleppner's Advertising Procedure* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1990), 23.

[2] Frank W. Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War: The Strange Military Career of American Advertising 1941-45* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 1975), 2.

[3] Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*, 26.

[4] Ibid., 10.

The Advertising Federation of America drafted its own wartime code in March 1942. It declared that advertising must perform four major functions to help the country's war effort: "To continue advertising's role in the process of distribution and in maintenance of the business structure; to guide general consumer demand away from scarce materials into channels most readily supplied; to assist the government directly in its appeals to the people on specific war effort[s]; and to help maintain public morale."[6] The War Advertising Council, created by the advertising industry, urged advertisers to adopt public service themes, including guarding against careless talk, salvaging scrap metals, purchasing war bonds and recruiting women into wartime service.[7] The council's slogan was "A War Message in Every Ad!" and it urged advertisers to devote some space in every ad to a war message.[8]

Some advertisers saw much greater roles for advertising. *Business Week* declared it an instrument of victory; *Newsweek* said "The American people must retain their desire for increasing amounts of the good things in life;" and some advertisers said they were preserving the American economy.[9] In short, many advertisers saw a patriotic function for themselves.

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[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] "Advertisers Draft Code for Wartime," *The New York Times*, March 18, 1942, 40.

[7] Russell and Lane, *Kleppner's Advertising Procedure*, 17. For a detailed discussion of companies attempting to define the role of their advertising after Pearl Harbor, see Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*.

[8] Madison Avenue (pen name of anonymous writer), "Advertising in Wartime," *The New Republic*, Feb. 21, 1944, 235. For a first-hand account of how the War Advertising Council promoted the dissemination of war messages and encouraged the survival of advertising, see Howard J. Morgens, "War and Peace," *Advertising Age*, June 18, 1990, 58.

[9] "W.C.," "The Trading Post," *Business Week*, Aug. 1, 1942, 67; Raymond Moley, "Perspective," *Newsweek*, July 20, 1942, 72; Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*.

Critics in government were more skeptical. Wartime production meant high profits, especially welcomed by companies emerging from the Great Depression, and advertising widely was seen as a convenient deduction to avoid taxation on high profits. Treasury Secretary Henry Morganthau Jr. said in May 1942, "The test for whether expenditures for advertising are deductible is whether they are ordinary and necessary and bear a reasonable relation to the business activities in which the enterprise is engaged. This is not intended to exclude institutional advertising in reasonable amounts or good-will advertising calculated to influence the buying habits of the public."[10] What constituted excessive spending on advertising was left open to question. Advertising in all media had increased 60 percent between the start of the war and February 1944, according to *The New Republic*, which argued that advertising lineage logically should decrease when people have less to buy. The liberal magazine claimed that what actually was being sold was an inflated idea of industry's virtue and achievement (ads for five companies each claimed the invention of radar). It argued that companies were using advertising to promote management at the expense of labor, in hopes of altering the balance of industrial power after the war.[11] Harry S. Truman, then a U.S. senator from Missouri, was among the critics who said advertising was overstating or misstating its wartime role, and he questioned the amounts being spent on advertising.[12]

Finding a middle ground was *Time*, which said advertisers moved from chaos ("hysterical, ridiculous, extreme" advertising) to order ("they saw the nation's real needs – strong morale, capacity production, patriotic sacrifice – and began to shape their advertising to fit it").[13] Morganthau agreed with the assessment in commenting after the war that the conflict "immeasurably improved the status of advertising." Fox argues that advertisers were under attack and confused about using war themes in advertising in 1942, but learned the power of advertising to sell the war and sell their image. According to one estimate, about 50 percent of all advertisers avoided the war altogether and stuck to selling.[14] But that still left half of the advertisers incorporating war themes, ideas and images into their advertising. A 1942 survey by the Advertising Research Foundation found high readership for ads using war themes.[15] The public perceived these war ads to be ethical and uplifting, unlike similar advertising during the Vietnam War.[16]

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[10] Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*, 41.

[11] Madison Avenue, "*The New Republic*, 233.

[12] "Senator on Advertising," *Business Week*, Nov. 20, 1943, 11.

This discussion suggests several questions about print advertising during World War II:

- How extensive was the use of war themes?
- How strongly did advertisers adopt war themes?
- For what purposes did advertisers use war themes?
- Was the depiction of management more favorable than the depiction of labor?
- Did these trends change during the war?

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[13] "Advertising in the War," *Time*, March 22, 1943, 68-69.

[14] Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*, 92-93, 33. See John Sterling's comments to the regional conference of the Association of National Advertisers in New York, quoted in *Printer's Ink*, Nov. 26, 1943, 41.

[15] "War Ads Pull," *Business Week*, April 11, 1942, 54.

[16] Richard Tansey, Michael R. Hyman and Gene Brown, "Ethical Judgments About Wartime Ads Depicting Combat," *Journal of Advertising*, September 1992.

Method:

Data were collected through an analysis of *Fortune*, *Life* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the largest-circulation business, general and women's magazines for the majority of the war years.[17] *Fortune* is a general-business periodical intended to appeal to executives in profit and non-profit organizations. During World War II it gave substantial coverage to social and war-related issues as well as economic news.[18] Publisher Henry Luce devised *Life* to be "The Show-Book of the World," capitalizing on the popularity of photographic reproduction to hold up a mirror to America's readers. It aimed for big stories in a broad spectrum of topics.[19] After becoming editors in 1935, Bruce and Beatrice Blackmar Gould directed the *Ladies' Home Journal* to appeal to women who had interests outside the home.[20] With clearly different audiences, these three magazines would be expected to contain different kinds of advertising.

A sample was chosen to obtain one edition of each of the three magazines for every year from 1941 through 1946, which includes each full year of American participation in the war plus, for context on changes in the volume of advertising, the year before and the year after the war. A number between 1 and 52 (representing weeks of the year) was drawn randomly for 1941, recorded and discarded, and from the remaining set a number was drawn for 1942, recorded and discarded. This procedure was repeated to obtain a non-periodic, random set of weeks for analysis of *Life* magazine, the only weekly of the three. Converting the numbers to the calendar's corresponding months and days yielded this sample: July 7, 1941; May 4, 1942; Jan. 18, 1943; March 20, 1944; Jan. 22, 1945; and July 29, 1946. The sample for *LHJ* and *Fortune* represents the corresponding months. Precautions were taken to ensure that the sample weeks for 1941 and 1945 were before Dec. 7 and Aug. 10, respectively.

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[17] J. Percy and H. Johnson, eds., *N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (Philadelphia: Ayer, 1942). *The Nation's Business* had approximately twice the circulation of *Fortune* but was excluded from analysis because it was a Chamber of Commerce publication. *The Saturday Evening Post* had higher circulation than *Life* in 1942, but *Life* became No. 1 in 1943 and remained there for the rest of the war.

[18] William Fisher, ed., *Business Journals of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 97.

[19] Alan and Barbara Nourie, eds., *American Mass Market Magazines* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990) 207-209.

[20] John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn, 1969), 208.

All display advertisements a half-page or larger were counted for each magazine. Those advertisements that contained war themes were counted, and then coded. The war content was coded for its primacy: whether the war content was primary, secondary or tertiary (described as being limited to a logo, such as the bonds and stamps appeal; an "E" for excellence flag; or a one-line appeal, separate from the advertising copy, urging the purchase of war bonds). The ads were coded for whether they favorably depicted, described or named management (including engineers, scientists, researchers and executives); labor (including assembly-line and other blue-collar workers, but not soldiers or housewives); both (including references to "the men and women" or "the employees" of a company) or neither.

The war content itself was categorized two ways: by its manifest message and, as a check, by its purpose. (Some ads were found to have the manifest message of describing a company's contribution to the war, which would be coded as a self-promotion message, but the ads would conclude with a direct appeal for sales, which would be coded as a sales purpose.) Categories for message were: Goods or services available now (even if hard to find); goods or services available later; government/patriotic message with no appeal for sales; government/patriotic message with an appeal for sales; and self-promotion by industry, corporation or product (a.k.a. industrial or good-will advertising). Categories for purpose were the four functions of advertising endorsed by the American Federation of Advertising (see above), plus self-promotion.

The author had two coders check for reliability by coding nine advertisements from 1943. Percent coder reliability was 91.7 percent. This included 96.3 percent for primacy, 88.8 percent for message, and 85.2 percent for purpose and depiction of management/labor. In all, out of 1,653 ads, 756 had war content and were coded. Level of significance was set at .05.

Results:

Display advertisements – defined for this study as ads a half-page or larger – increased for all three magazines during the war years. The single exception was in the 1943 edition of *Ladies' Home Journal*. It had 53 such ads, compared with the magazine's 55 in 1941. Most notable is *Fortune's* increase from 84 ads a half-page or larger in 1941 to 204 in 1944, the sample's peak advertising year for all three magazines. *Life* had 33 ads a half-page or larger in 1941 and 74 in 1944; *LHJ* had 55 such ads in 1941 and, after the slight decline in 1943, had 106 in 1944. (See Table 1.)

The percentages of ads that contained war themes also rose during the war years. In July 1941, before America entered the war, more than 30 percent of *Fortune* and *Life* ads contained war themes. Compare this with *LHJ*, in which a single ad had a war theme that month.

More than 70 percent of *Fortune's* display advertising contained war themes from 1942 through 1944, and the high was in 1943 (78.6 percent). *Life* peaked at 74.3 percent in 1944, and *LHJ* peaked at 56.6 percent in 1943. From March 1944 to January 1945 – months before the end of the war on either front – the percentages of ads containing war themes decreased for all three magazines, ranging from a drop of 17 percentage points in the *Ladies' Home Journal* to 23.5 percentage points in *Fortune*.

When all three magazines are considered together, the war content of advertising tended to be the primary message early in the war. Primacy decreased later, as advertisers relied more and more on logos (such as the "E" flag or the war bonds logo) to carry their war message. Table 2 collapses the sample into three two-year periods: 1941-42; 1943-44 and 1945-46. (A total of 15 ads in the sample had war content in 1946, a year after war's end, and were coded.) The percentage of coded ads in which the war content was primary was 68.75 in 1941-42, 56.12 in 1943-44 and 32.72 in 1945-46.

The war content was primary in 63.40 percent of the display ads in *Fortune*, compared with 18.66 percent in *LHJ*, in which patriotic/war messages tended to be a secondary image of a soldier in uniform, a logo or one-line appeal, such as the exhortation to buy war bonds. The results for *Life* lie in the middle: in 55.55 percent of its ads containing war themes, the war message was primary. (See Table 3.)

Table 4 crosstabulates the three magazines with the purpose of the advertisement, in which the categories were collapsed into "war/patriotic" (the three purposes linked to wartime – assisting in war appeals, guiding away from scarcity or promoting conservation, and helping maintain morale); sales (now or in future); and promotion of image. When the ads from all three magazines are considered, 71.8 percent used war themes for the purpose of selling. Ads that promote the image of a company are second at 17.60 percent, and ads that serve war-patriotic purposes are last at 10.59 percent.

Life had the highest percentage of ads emphasizing war/patriotic messages – 21.74 in the collapsed years 1941-43. (See Table 5.) That compares with 13.33 percent for *Fortune* and 6.12 percent (three ads) for *LHJ*. The differences among the three magazines are significant for 1941-43 but not for 1944-46.

The collapsing of message and purpose categories in Tables 4 and 5 was necessary to ensure adequate expected frequencies in cells. Few ads, for example, made war appeals without urging purchase of a product, and few had the primary purpose of guiding away from scarcity or promoting conservation.

There were significant differences in the way the ads in the sample favorably depicted, described or named management or labor. A favorable light was cast exclusively on management in 49 ads and exclusively on labor in 15. When the 45 ads that favorably treated *both* management and labor were added, the totals become 94 and 60, respectively. (See Table 6.) Management and/or labor were not depicted in 647 of the 756 ads.

Discussion and conclusions:

In response to the first research question, the percentage of advertising containing war themes during American participation in the war (sample years 1942-45) averaged 67 percent in *Fortune*, 58 percent in *Life* and 42 percent in *Ladies' Home Journal*. In July 1941, five months before Pearl Harbor, the percentage of *Fortune* ads containing war themes was 34.5. This suggests that the companies that advertise in *Fortune* – many of them large corporations aiming for an audience of business executives – were more focused on the war in mid-1941 than were the advertisers in *Life* and *LHJ*. The decline of the use of war themes in January 1945 suggests three propositions for further study: 1. Advertisers no longer perceived war themes as useful in marketing; 2. Advertisers perceived the end of the war as near; or 3. Advertisers had begun preparing for consumer demand after the war.

An examination of the data on how strongly advertisers adopted war themes and how these trends changed during the war suggests that war themes made good business sense for *Fortune's* advertisers and readers, but not for *Ladies' Home Journal's*. (The difference in war-theme primacy among ads in the three magazines is significant at the .001 level in Table 3.) Advertisers may have been less worried about the importance of selling the war to women, who could not serve in combat, or advertisers apparently didn't believe the war would help sell products to women.

A significant 71.8 percent of ads (Table 4) used war themes for the purpose of selling, which essentially was one of the four functions of wartime advertising sanctioned by the American Federation of Advertising's code. That's not surprising. What is interesting to note is that the other three (war/patriotic) purposes, which would be unusual during peacetime, are reflected in only 10.59 percent of the ads. That's less than the institutional/good-will advertising ("promotion of image").

Life's percentage of ads containing war/patriotic messages was the highest of the three magazines during 1941-43 (Table 5). The reader must use caution in attributing too much significance to this distribution because of the low total of war/patriotic messages, but still this distribution seems to reinforce the popular image of *Life* as the magazine that brought the war home to American readers. Significance is at the .05 level for 1941-43, but the distribution is not significant for 1944-46.

Table 6 seems to illustrate *The New Republic's* assertion that advertising painted a more favorable picture of management than of labor (significant at either the .001 level or the .01 level, depending on how the depiction is measured). However, this is a weak trend. By far the most ads in the sample discussed product or corporate image without singling out management or labor for special attention. To what extent readers of these magazines would transfer support for a company or product during wartime to either management or labor is a question that cannot be answered by coding for manifest content.

In conclusion, advertising – and presumably advertising revenue – increased dramatically during World War II for the three magazines in the sample. The proportion of ads containing war themes also rose, reaching a higher peak in *Fortune* than in the other two magazines. The primacy of war content tended to be higher early in the war, and higher in *Fortune* than in the other two magazines. Relatively few ads (Tables 4 and 5) were devoted primarily to altruistic messages and purposes, such as encouraging bond sales and maintaining morale. Rather, advertisers tended to keep on doing what they always had done: sell products and images, sometimes linking their messages to a small appeal to the reader to buy more war bonds.

Table 1

RATIO OF ADS WITH WAR CONTENT TO ALL DISPLAY ADVERTISING*

The top number represents ads containing war themes.
The lower number represents total ads found.
The number in italics is the percentage of ads containing war themes.

	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Fortune	29	76	103	149	94	8
	84	106	131	204	190	132
	34.5%	*71.7%*	*78.6%*	*73%*	*49.5%*	*6.1%*
Life@	12	22	38	55	31	5
	33	60	60	74	56	56
	36.4%	*36.7%*	*63.3%*	*74.3%*	*55.4%*	*8.9%*
Ladies' Home Journal	1	20	30	58	23	2
	55	91	53	106	61	101
	1.8%	*22.0%*	*56.6%*	*54.7%*	*37.7%*	*2.0%*

*Ads must be a half-page or larger.

@Life editions: July 7, 1941; May 4, 1942; Jan. 18, 1943; March 20, 1944; Jan. 22, 1945; July 29, 1946.

Fortune and LHJ editions: corresponding months.

1941 and 1946 included for context.

Table 2

PRIMACY OF ADS' WAR CONTENT, BY YEARS

(Cell percentages in italics)

	1941-42	1943-44	1945-46
Primary	110 *68.75%*	243 *56.12%*	53 *32.72%*
More than logo	**151** **94.38%**	**379** **87.53%**	**116** **71.60%**
Less than primary	50 *31.25%*	190 *43.88%*	109 *67.28%*
Logo only	**9** ***5.62%***	**54** ***12.47%***	**46** ***28.40%***

Columns total 100

Primary content χ2 = 44.29 df = 2 p<.001

Logo Only (numbers bold) χ2 = 36.96 df = 2 p<.001

Table 3

PRIMACY OF ADS' WAR CONTENT, BY MAGAZINE

(Cell percentages in italics)

	Fortune	Life	LHJ
Primacy	291 *63.40%*	90 *55.55%*	25 *18.66%*
Less than primary	168 *36.60%*	72 *44.44%*	109 *81.34%*

Columns total 100

χ2 = 83.79 df = 2 p<.001

Table 4
PURPOSE OF ADVERTISEMENT, BY MAGAZINE
(Cell percentages in italics)

	Fortune	Life	LHJ	Row total
War/patriotic purpose[1]	48 *10.95%*	19 *12.03%*	10 *7.63%*	77 *10.59%*
Sales purpose[2]	294 *67.12%*	108 *68.35%*	120 *91.60%*	522 *71.80%*
Promotion of image[3]	96 *21.92%*	31 *19.62%*	1 *0.76%*	128 *17.60%*

Columns total 100

1. Assists government in appeal on war effort, such as buying bonds, giving blood, enlisting; guides away from scarcity or promotes conservation; or helps morale.
2. Guides toward purchase, now or in future.
3. Industrial ad/promotes image of company without making sales pitch.

$\chi^2 = 36.29 \quad df = 4 \quad p < .001$

Table 5

ADVERTISING MESSAGE BY MAGAZINE

Messages collapsed: Promoting war/patriotism
vs. promoting product/company
(Cell percentages in italics)

Top numbers 1941-43
Bottom numbers 1944-46

	Fortune	Life	LHJ	Row total
Promote product, company[1]	169 *86.67%*	54 *78.26%*	46 *93.88%*	269 *85.9%*
	215 ***88.43%***	**80** ***90.90%***	**76** ***93.88%***	**371** ***90.3%***
Promote war, patriotism[2]	26 *13.33%*	15 *21.74%*	3 *6.12%*	44 *14.1%*
	27 ***11.16%***	**8** ***9.09%***	**5** ***6.17%***	**40** ***9.7%***

Columns total 100

1. Ads whose primary message concerns goods or services available now or in future, or corporate image.
2. These elements may include appeals for sales as a secondary element.

1941-43 $\chi2$ = 6.00 df = 2 $p<.05$

1944-46 $\chi2$ = 1.77 df = 2 NS

Table 6

FAVORABLE DEPICTION, MANAGEMENT VS. LABOR*

Management only	49	Management and both	94
Labor only	15	Labor and both	60
	$\chi^2 = 18.1$ df = 1 $p<.001$		$\chi^2 = 7.5$ df = 1 $p<.01$

*Depiction includes picture, description or class of employees.

"Management includes engineers, scientists, directors, researchers and other white-collar jobs.

"Labor" includes assembly-line workers and other blue-collar workers, but not soldiers or homemakers.

"Both" includes references to "the men and women of" and "the employees of" a particular company.

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Journalistic Standards Reflected in Letters to the Editor, News Articles, and Editorials of the Muckraking Era

by

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Journalistic Standards Reflected in Letters to the Editor, News Articles and Editorials of the Muckraking Era

INTRODUCTION

Interest in journalism ethics has soared within the past 15 years. Evidence of this interest can be found in many new books and college courses devoted to the topic. In addition, centers dedicated entirely to the study of media ethics have recently been developed.[1] And, since 1985, the field of mass media ethics has even published its own scholarly journal, the Journal of Mass Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality. Recent polls of journalists show that discussions of media ethics are routine in newsrooms across the country. With so much interest in the topic, it is clear why Clifford Christians is able to confidently make the following assessment: "media ethics is a growth industry."[2]

Despite the burgeoning media ethics literature, some conspicuous gaps remain. Hazel Dicken-Garcia has clearly identified one such gap. She argues the debate about media ethics has seldom benefited from a historical perspective: That is, the media ethics literature of the present fails to deal with journalistic ethics in a historical context. Dicken-Garcia has shown that discussion of journalism ethics did, in fact, occur in the past. More of this discussion, she argues, needs to be uncovered, acknowledged, and used "to inform, direct and give continuity" to current discussions of journalism ethics.[3] With the exception of

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[1] Following is a brief sample of just a few of the more prominent books published in the past 13 years regarding journalistic ethics. They include: Edmund B. Lambeth, Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Louis A. Day, Ethics in Media Communications: Cases and Controversies (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing, 1991); William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews, Ethics for the Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988); Thomas W. Cooper, Clifford Christians, Frances Ford Plude, and Robert A. White, Communication Ethics and Global Change (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman Inc. 1989); Eugene Goodwin, Groping for Ethics in Journalism, (Ames, Iowa State University Press, 1983); Lee Thayer (ed.) Ethics, Morality and the Media (New York: Hastings House, 1980); Frank McCulloch, (ed.) Drawing the Line (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1984); and Philip Meyer, Ethical Journalism (New York: Longman, 1987). Two major continuing workshops on media ethics have also been established with cooperative journalism industry-academia funding: The AEJMC/Gannett/ University of Missouri Ethics Workshop and the Poynter Institute for Media Studies Teaching Fellowship in Ethics. In addition, the Society of Professional Journalists sponsors local media ethics workshops all across the country.

[2] C. C. Christians, "Media Ethics Courses Have Increased Since 1977," Journalism Educator, 40, (2) 1985, p. 17.

[3] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), p. 4.

Dicken-Garcia's book exploring journalistic standards in nineteenth-century America, very few works explicitly examine what readers in the past have viewed as good or bad journalism and what criteria they used to measure it.[4] The voices of the audience regarding journalism's standards has been almost entirely missing from the record.The purpose of this research is to recapture some of those voices. Specifically, this study builds on Dicken-Garcia's work by examining some of the public discourse concerning journalistic standards that took place between 1902 and 1912.

In essence, the work presented here responds to James Carey's call for a discovery of more historical life in journalism history. This research seeks to do this by focusing on comments about journalistic standards expressed publicly by those who letters to the editor and by journalists. This study seeks to reveal what Carey calls the "way in which men in the past have grasped reality."[5]

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many books and scholarly articles have defined and described the muckraking phenomenon. For the most part earlier research about muckraking falls into five major categories: 1) narrative descriptions of the content of the investigative articles;[6] 2) biographies of the muckrakers;[7] 3) examinations of the factors contributing to the rise and fall of muckraking;[8] 4) discussions of the importance of muckraking to the Progressive political reform movement;[9] and 5) explorations of the importance of muckraking to the history and development of journalism.[10]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] James Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," Journalism History, Vol. 1, No.1, Spring, 1974, p. 4.

[6] Two of the most frequently cited books that tell the story of muckraking and give samples of articles published during the height of the muckraking era are: Louis Filler's The Muckrakers: Crusaders for American Liberalism, (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1939), and The Muckrakers, by Arthur and Lila Weinberg (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961). Filler's book is known for its ground-breaking work in setting out a chronology of the muckraking movement. The Weinbergs' book gives a thorough sampling of the most popular, controversial, and influential muckraking pieces.

[7] Biographies and autobiographies of the muckrakers describing the individual muckrakers' life struggles abound. The most notable include: Donald H. Bragaw's 1970 dissertation examining the life of social activist Charles Edward Russell, Soldier for the Common Good: The Life and Career of Charles Edward Russell (Ph.D. diss. Syracuse University, 1970); Justin Kaplan's Lincoln Steffens: A Biography (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); and Kathleen Brady's 1984 account of scholar, historian Ida Tarbell, entitled Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939).

[8] The many articles that discuss and examine the factors involved in the rise and fall of muckraking are too numerous to review in depth here. But the following is a list of just a few of the many articles that can add more understanding to the situation. Those articles include: John Filler, "The Muckrakers in Flower and in Failure," Essays in American Historiography. eds. Donald Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett, New York: Columbia University

This is an impressive amount of material. And yet more work remains to be done. For example, the literature does not tap into the dialogue about muckraking that is contained in letters to the editor published in the better known magazines: that is, the muckraking literature has not specifically considered the point of view of members of the audience or journalists of the period.

This research seeks to determine if discussion about journalistic standards was published from 1902 to 1912, and if so, what this discussion revealed about perceptions of journalistic standards of the period. This time period brackets the muckraking era. For the purposes of this research, muckraking is defined as the investigative magazine journalism that swept across America between 1902 and 1912, featuring factual accounts of

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Press, 1960; Charles Edward Russell, "The Magazine Soft Pedal," Pearson's, February 1914; Charles Edward Russell, "How Business Controls News," Pearson's, 31, May 1914, pp. 546-547; and Bruce Evensen, "The Evangelical Origins of Muckraking," American Journalism 6, 1989, pp. 5-29.

[9] The relationship between Progressivism and muckraking is explored in the following works: Daniel Aaron, Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951) ; Arthur Mann, The Progressive Era (Hinsdale: Illinois: Dryden Press, 1975); and Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955). Hofstadter, in particular, argues that the Progressive movement was sparked by the muckraking reporters. These reporters, he wrote, believed they had almost a religious mission to warn people about the evils of a powerful class of robber barons. Stanley Key Schultz argues in a 1965 article that the muckrakers were the publicizing arm of the Progressive reform movement - that without that publicity the impact of the Progressives would have been negligible. See Stanley Key Schultz, "The Morality of Politics: The Muckrakers Vision of Democracy," Journal of American History 52, 1965, pp. 527-47.

[10] The claim that muckraking altered the traditional style of journalism by making it more active and aggressive is examined in works including the following: Richard B. Kielbowicz, "The Media and Reform, 1900-1917," in The Media in America 2nd ed. Wm. D. Sloan, James G. Stovall, and James Startt (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993). Still other articles that explore the way muckraking changed journalism, making it more inclined to uncover facts independently and dig up dirt, include: Harry H. Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-Year Scholarship," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Spring, 1979), p. 11; Robert E. Park, "The Natural History of the Newspaper," American Journal of Sociology, 29 (November 1923), pp. 273-289; George W. Alger, "The Literature of Exposure," Atlantic August 1905; Judson Grenier Jr., "Muckraking and Muckrakers: An Historical Definition," Journalism Quarterly, Autumn, 1960; and finally Thomas C. Leonard The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also David Mark Chalmers, "The Muckrakers and the Growth of Corporate Power: A Study in Constructive Journalism," American Journal of Economics and Society, 18 (April, 1959).

societal corruption.[11] Also for purposes of this research, journalistic standards refer to such qualities as truthfulness, fairness and accuracy - that is, concrete measurements of journalistic behavior that can be applied in determining what is ethical and what is not. This definition encompasses concepts such as "the public good," or "education," that is, standards that deal with the larger relationship between society and the press. All letters to the editor, news articles and editorials referencing journalistic standards published in 10 popular muckraking and non-muckraking magazines have been analyzed.

A comparison of views on what constituted good and bad journalism, as expressed in readers' letters to the editor and the views expressed in the journalists' articles and editorials, provides information useful in attempting to answer several questions, which guided this study. To begin with, was there published commentary of journalistic standards in the muckraking era involving readers and journalists? If so, was there a difference in the views expressed by the letters to the editor writers and the journalists? What themes emerged from the discussions? Were certain themes consistently repeated by either or both journalists and letters to the editor writers? Is there a conflict between the themes expressed by the letter writers and those of the journalists? Can the themes exist harmoniously? Are they antithetical? Numerous scholars have claimed that a revolution in journalistic standards took place during the muckraking era.[12] Did letters to the editors and articles and editorials written by journalists reflect that change? Rather than concentrating on whether there is evidence of such a change, this research concerns itself with discovering what kind of public commentary, if any, reflected changes in journalistic standards.

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[11] There are many definitions of muckraking - this one is a compilation of several sources including: Harry H. Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-Year Scholarship," Journalism Quarterly, 56 (Spring, 1979), p. 11. Also Stanley Schultz, "The Morality of Politics: The Muckrakers' Vision of Democracy," Journal of American History, 52 (December, 1965), p. 530. Jeanne G. Goldfarb, "McClure's in Fact and Legend: Muckraking the Muckraker Historians," (Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1970); Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957. vol. 4); and Harold S. Wilson, McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers (Princeton, N.J., University Press, 1970).

[12] An example: William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews wrote in their 1988 book, Ethics for the Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall), p. 99, that "Clashes with authority have continued throughout the history of journalism, but an organized focus on wrongdoing did not truly begin until the opening of the twentieth century; the first decade of the 1900s called the golden age of muckraking." Another example can be seen in Thomas C. Leonard's book, The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 216, in which Leonard writes that "the most important feature of muckraking was that it became such an insistent trade practice." After muckraking, Leonard says "the investigation of social problems and impatience with the political status quo seems to be everywhere one looks in the press."

METHODOLOGY

Six-hundred and fifty-two letters from readers relating to journalism, out of a total of 2,154 letters published in 10 selected magazines, were examined in this research. Nearly 370 editorials and articles about journalism written by journalists of the era and published in those same 10 magazines were also examined.

The magazines studied in this research were: Arena; [13] Collier's;[14] Cosmopolitan; Everybody's; Harper's Weekly;[15] The Independent; The Ladies Home Journal;[16] McClure's; Munsey's; and World's Work. [17]

The research undertaken here is a thematic analysis of journalistic standards. The thematic categories used were borrowed primarily from Dicken-Garcia's work. These themes included public service, morality, watchdog, truth-teller, and non-partisanship. While Dicken-Garcia's work served as a primary road map, this research was open to other themes.

Journalistic Standards Expressed in Letters to the Editor: Howling Dogs

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[13] Arena magazine is included in this study based on journalism historian Louis Filler's assertion that it was "the most influential and radical of the muckraking journals." See Louis Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 40-41.

[14] Five of the magazines - Collier's, Cosmopolitan, Everybody's, The Independent, and McClure's - were chosen for this study because they were considered the premier muckraking publications, according to muckraking historians Louis Filler and Arthur and Lila Weinberg. See Louis Filler, The Muckrakers, and Arthur and Lila Weinberg, The Muckrakers.

[15] Harper's Weekly and Munsey's were extremely critical of what they frequently called muckraking's frantic sensationalism. The two magazines often ignored muckraking for years at a time, according to Will Irwin, writing in The Making of a Reporter (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1942), pp. 145-147; also Robert Underwood Johnson, Remembered Yesterday's (Boston: Little Brown, 1923), pp. 87-88; and Louise Ware, Jacob A. Riis: Police Reporter, Reformer, and Useful Citizen (New York: Appleton Century Co., 1935), p. 49. Harper's and Munsey's are included in this study to provide a contrast with the aggressive muckraking magazines.

[16] The Ladies Home Journal is included in this study because Filler admits this women's publication, which he described as "reactionary" [that is, conservative] and representative of the "solidly middle-class home," ironically, led one of the most widely renowned and successful muckraking battles - the campaign for pure-food legislation. See Filler, The Muckrakers, p. 149

[17] Filler described World's Work as "honest, sincere, and always one step behind the muckrakers." See Filler, The Muckrakers, p. 165. It seemed appropriate to include the magazine labelled the most behind the times in the muckraking movement in this analysis.

> The two greatest secular agencies that America has produced to raise the standard of the world's manhood are Roosevelt and Collier's. The dogs that each have bit have howled.
> L.Haynes Bunton, MD
> Oklahoma City, Oklahoma,
> Collier's, 1909[18]

As this example illustrates, early 20th century writers of letters to the editor wrote colorfully and left no doubt as to their appreciation of high standards in their magazines. These readers wrote passionately about the public service role of the press. They praised truth telling and demanded even more. They were infuriated by evidence of political partisanship and hailed a free press as essential to a vital democracy. Readers reached heights of eloquence in their letters as they demanded that the press act as an advocate for the common man and consider its effects on morality. This section of this paper surveys the colorful public commentary about the press expressed in letters to the editor.

As shown in the data collected for this paper, the 10 magazines studied differed significantly not only in the total number of letters to the editor each ran, but also in the the percentage of those letters related to journalism. Overall, of the 2,154 letters to the editor published in the magazines studied, 652, or 30 percent centered on journalistic standards. The magazine that ran the most letters to the editor dealing with journalistic standards was Collier's, with 195 journalism letters out of a total of 220 letters. However, Arena ran the highest percentage of journalism letters, with 100 percent of its 20 letters dealing with journalistic standards. Arena was followed by McClure's, with 96 percent of its 28 letters commenting on journalistic standards and World's Work, with 91 percent of its 11 letters discussing journalism and its standards.

The most frequently expressed journalistic standard in the letters published during the muckraking era was public service, with 38 percent, or 246 letters, discussing this topic. The press as a moral force and political partisanship tied for the number 2 spot as the most favored subject of letters to the editor; both were mentioned in 18 percent of the letters. Fairness was the third most popular theme, receiving 11 percent (or 70 letters).

General Themes

Public Service

Public service was the leading theme for the entire study period. It was mentioned in nearly every one of the 10 magazines studied. In total the theme was mentioned in 38 percent of the 652 letters relating to journalism published between 1902 and 1912. No single theme was expressed as often and in as many magazines. Letters in Arena, Collier's,

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[18] "Brickbats and Bouquets," Collier's, Oct. 23, 1909, p. 27.

Cosmopolitan, Everybody's, and World's Work, in particular, focused on public service as the most important function of the press.

Writing in 1906, Margaret Dunn, a New York City Cosmopolitan reader, summarized this public service view of the press when she said the press should "keep us in touch with this great big world and its important events; help us to grow and broaden so that our interests and our sympathies will extend over the whole world, instead of being selfishly confined to our own little firesides."[19]

The 1906 "Treason of the Senate," series by David Graham Phillips, which ran in Cosmopolitan, was cited by many readers as a perfect example of outstanding public service. The series inspired J.A. Evans of Cripple Creek, Colorado, to write: "Lawson, in his Frenzied Finance, Steffens and others have done a grand educational work among the masses, but Mr. David Graham Phillips has struck the keyboard of oppression and graft."[20] Evans was joined in his support of Phillips by E.A. Wasson of Newark, New Jersey who wrote: "I thank God that a man and a magazine have arisen courageous enough to turn the light on the United States Senate."[21]

Moral Force

The press as a moral force was a standard that generated much comment from letter writers. This standard was in second place after public service as the most popular among readers. It generated 117 letters or 18 percent. Comments about the press' role as a moral force were not always congratulatory. For example, Everybody's published a letter in April 1912, that vehemently attacked a series of articles about the judicial system because of a concern over sensationalism and the bad morals it might teach audiences - because of the details of corruption it revealed. The writer claimed too much attention was given to bad news, violence, crime, sex and gossip - thus, glorifying criminals and "bad guys" and teaching readers that crime pays. In that letter, A.B.F, of York, Pennsylvania, wrote:

> sensational attacks. . . on our courts can only bring evil. . . . I recognize that you have done a great deal of good with your investigations. I was one of the committee to investigate insurance methods, following your stories [about the insurance business]. You did good work there. The bucket-shop sharks deserved all you said of them. And you no doubt have had influence in improving conditions in the steel mills. Conditions have greatly improved there, as they have in the packinghouses, for all of which I give you credit.[22]

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[19] "Magazine Shop-Talk," Cosmopolitan, July 1906, p. 332.

[20] Ibid., May, 1906, p.114.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Everybody's, April 1912, p. 568.

But the letter concluded with a warning that Everybody's needed to proceed cautiously in muckraking the court system without solid evidence, lest readers give up hope and decide the whole system was hopelessly corrupt.

Other letters in Everybody's were less gentle in making their point about the need for more concern with morality in the press. J. Williams, of Carey, Ohio, for example, said in a 1904 letter that Everybody's recent article on the "M.E. Church," was "disgusting to the world at large"[23] because of the way he/she said it poked fun at the church and gleefully derided moral standards. A 1906 letter writer joined Williams in complaining about the magazine's church coverage and lack of morality. S.B. of West Winfield, New York, said "Everybody's flippant, funny tone," in covering the Christian church, specifically "lambasting the clergy as musty and narrow," was entirely undeserved and clearly immoral.[24] Another letter writer said Everybody's combination of "blackguardism and flippancy [in regards to religion] is rather too much. I, for one, shall buy no more Everybody's."[25] A Cosmopolitan reader made a similar remark in 1911, warning that popular magazines, including Cosmopolitan, were destroying morality by publishing "vicious, demoralizing [stories] that are enervating to the virtues of truthfulness and honesty."[26]

The press's impact on morality was the main concern of the letters to the editor published in the Ladies' Homes Journal. The discussion in the Journal of moral decency and the press was lively : "You are corrupting our young women," a 1907 letter declared. The source of this person's ire was a department in the Ladies' Home Journal called "That Reminds Me." The letter writer described this section of the magazine as "so full of so-called jokes that are smutty and unfit for my daughters to read. I feel like tearing out the page each month."[27] In response, though, a letter was printed right next to this complaint that balanced the debate saying: "Your department, 'That Reminds Me,' is so free from coarse jokes that we recommend this page to all our tired girls."[28]

Political Partisanship

Concerns about political partisanship tied with moral force as the second most frequently mentioned journalistic standard in the letters to the editor: The political partisanship standard was mentioned in 114 letters or 18 percent of the letters to the editor on journalism topics. It seemed to be a particularly potent theme for Harper's Weekly readers. Harper's ran 85 letters (8 percent) of a total 1,108 letters on political partisanship. A 1904 letter writer told Harper's:

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[23] Ibid., July 1904, p. 131.

[24] "Straight Talk," Everybody's, June 1906, p. 857.

[25] Ibid., p. 860. This letter was signed by J.B.T., a minister from Dover, Delaware.

[26] "Magazine Shop-Talk," Cosmopolitan, April 1911, p. 721, letter from H.S. Cooper, of Galveston, Texas.

[27] "The Editor's Personal Page," The Ladies Home Journal, March 1907, p. 1.

[28] Ibid.

> While I have been a Democrat always, I consider the successful candidate for the Presidency my own individual President, irrespective of his party. . . . For this reason I long to see the time when our executive is exempt from such politically partisan news stories and biased cartoons as are caricatures in your publication. . . . The man chosen to be our chief should not be held up to such insulting political ridicule. Has the press lost all respect of the nowadays father of our country? Partisan press such as yours should not belittle our Chief Executive, no matter what his political party.[29]

Many other letter writers also took Harper's Weekly to task either for being "too much of a Republican paper,"[30] or, in contrast, commended the magazine for being "as nearly independent politically as any paper I ever read."[31]

Fairness

While political partisanship was a hot topic among letter writers, so too was the broader category of fairness. Fairness - defined broadly by letter writers as a willingness to print a variety of points of view about a given issue- was discussed in some 70 letters, that is, 11 percent of the letters on journalism standards. Fairness was the single journalistic standard mentioned most frequently in letters to the editors published in Collier's between 1902 and 1912: It was discussed in more than 50 letters out of a total of 220 published in Collier's during the entire muckraking era. An example of this discussion can be seen in a June 11, 1904 letter from W.D.R. of Denver, Colorado, who commended Collier's for its "fair play in allowing pro and con concerning [William Randolph] Hearst to appear in your columns."[32] Paul H. Blades, of Los Angeles, made a similar point in a 1909 letter that congratulated Collier's for "sanity, balance, and a willingness to expose its readers to many points of view."[33]

But Collier's did not always get praises from its readers for its political fairness. Quite a few letter writers made it clear such fairness was an important journalistic standard to them by sharply attacking editors and reporters who they accused of violating the rules of journalistic fairness. More than 15 letters raked the magazine, accusing Collier's of being malicious, "taking up arms against Hearst," and "dealing unfairly in gossip and small personalities."[34]

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[29] "Correspondence," Harper's Weekly, July 23, 1904, p. 1131. This letter was signed by J. I. Westervelt, from Greenville, South Carolina.

[30] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1904, p. 1634. This letter was signed by William Kernan Dart, of Bay Saint Louis, of Mississippi.

[31] Ibid., This letter was from B.B. Pearson, of Benson Vermont.

[32] Collier's, June 11, 1904, p. 30.

[33] Ibid., Jan. 16, 1909, p. 25.

Free Press

Freedom of the press was a popular theme uncovered in letters to the editor - with the majority of the letters in McClure's magazine expressing that view between 1902 and 1912. A letter writer identified as R.W.C. of Chicago, Illinois, for instance, wrote in 1904 that McClure's was "fearless" in its outspoken advocacy of free speech and willingness to stand up for its principles. "It is a refreshing novelty to see a magazine which is not scared stiff at the possibility of offending some one," R.W.C.'s letter said. The letter praised McClure's for the way it "dares have a real individuality and promotes free speech and does not care how high it goes in following the trail of graft or trickery."[35]

A self-described "editor from Chicago" was typical of McClure's letter writers when he said: "I don't agree for a moment with any one who thinks society's ill can be cured by censorship and going backward: that we should be better off with less democracy and freedom of the press. We'll get a cure when the natural moral sense of the people is convalescent."[36] A letter from a "European University Professor," also complimented McClure's for its freedom and advocacy of free speech:

> I find all the articles [in McClure's] to be the ideal literature of a free republic, of a free people. The writers are fearless, free men, possessing a high sense of duty, and they write from conviction and not for effect. They lash hard, cut deep - every blow drawing blood. It is by constant exposures of public evils that such evils are minimized. Yours is the first country that has adopted universal freedom of the press and people on such a grand scale. If you fail, no attempt at popular free government will be attempted for the next 100 years."[37]

Truth Telling

The idea that magazines should tell the truth was rarely mentioned alone. More often it was discussed by letter writers in conjunction with some greater good. That is, truth-telling was seen as valuable when it promoted such things as public service, political non-partisanship, advocacy for the common man and morality. For record keeping purposes it was difficult to decide how to code such letters that tied truth telling to other themes. But a decision was made, admittedly subjective, to label those letters that emphatically and repeatedly discussed truth telling as truth telling letters alone.

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[34] Ibid., June 11, 1907, p. 30. This letter was signed by W.H.Y. of Davis, West Virginia.

[35] "Editorial," McClure's, May 1904, p. 223.

[36] Ibid., p. 222.

[37] Ibid.

Truth-telling garnered only 6 percent of letter writers' comments as a theme during the muckraking era, but those who wrote about it wrote passionately and vociferously. Letters in particular in Collier's, Cosmopolitan, and Everybody's emphasized this theme of truth telling more than others. John Ward Stimson offered an example of this truth-telling theme as expressed by readers of a rival magazine when he wrote a letter to Cosmopolitan: "The country cannot be too grateful for the splendid truth of such articles as those which Lawson and David Phillips offer it. . . . Lawson has done nobly; Phillips can strike an even more fatal blow to high treason."[38]

Advocacy for the Common Man

Advocacy for the common man was mentioned in 3 percent of the letters to the editor. Readers in different magazines urged the press to be an advocate of justice in society and defender of the weak. In a July 20, 1912, letter to Collier's, George F. Pollock of Salt Lake City wrote: "It is a pleasure to see a paper of your standing champion the cause of the plain people. . . . There is no denying the fact that there are two sets of laws in this country, one for the rich and one for the other fellow. Some one in Collier's office must have his ear to the ground, as that paper apparently is alive to the feelings and dispositions of the masses as to the inequality which is at times being expressed."[39]

A similar letter, poignant in its yearning for fairness for the 'little guy,' was published in Everybody's magazine in April 1912. "I am glad to see that a magazine of the standing of Everybody's has taken up the [muckraking] cudgel [against the corruption of the courts] on behalf of the people," the letter said. "And before its articles are finished, Everybody's will awaken the conscience of the bar and all the people."[40]

Journalistic Standards, What the Journalists Wrote: "A Raging Whirlwind"

> The duty of a responsible magazine is to expose evil . . . to help abolish iniquity with a mighty force, a raging whirlwind, which shall sweep away such things as child labor and the conditions that produce it. . . . Our job is to find out what great wrongs must be corrected, what national evils need wiping out, and to

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[38] "Magazine Shop-Talk, Cosmopolitan, May 1906, p. 113.

[39] "Brickbats and Bouquets," Collier's, July 29, 1912, p. 25.

[40] "Straight Talk," Everybody's Magazine, April 1912, p. 568.

> attack them so they shall no longer constitute an obstacle to the ascent of mankind. Editorial, Cosmopolitan, 1906.[41]

Journalists in the muckraking era wrote about their work and their professional standards imaginatively and passionately - as the quote above demonstrates. They discussed their power as a moral force. They wrote about their public service role. They described themselves as truth tellers, protectors, and advocates of fairness. With only one exception, the editors declared they had far nobler aims than mere money-making. The material presented in this section of the paper examines the robust public discussion of journalistic standards conducted by journalists between 1902 and 1912 in 369 articles or editorials about journalism printed in the pages of 10 national magazines.

The themes journalists wrote about, in order of frequency, were: the press as a moral force, the press' public service role, truth telling, the press as a protector, the press as an upholder of fairness and money maker. The data shows that McClure's devoted 94 percent of its journalism articles to the topic of the press as a public service; World's Work ran 71 percent of its journalism articles about the press as a public service, while Independent ran 64 percent of its journalism articles about the press as a moral force.

According to the data gathered, two themes contended for the number one spot in popularity for the study period among journalists: The themes are the press as a moral force and the press as a public service. Each was mentioned in 108 articles during the muckraking era, giving each theme 29 percent of the total of 369 journalism articles published during that period. Truth-telling followed moral force and public service as a favorite topic. It was mentioned in 17 percent (or 61 articles) of the total number of journalism articles. The press as a protector received 14 percent of the attention of journalists on the topic of journalism, followed by fairness, with 7 percent, and money-making with 4 percent.

Moral Force

Journalism was described as a moral force in 108 articles and editorials studied in this research: It was a recurring refrain throughout the symphony of the muckraking era. But Arena, Collier's, and The Independent, in particular, emphasized this journalistic standard in their magazines more than any other single theme. A 1903 editorial in Collier's provides an example of this "press as a moral force" concept, when it loftily proclaimed the aim of Collier's is "not the mere making of money." It went on to say:

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[41] "Child Labor," Cosmopolitan, June 1906, p. 109.

> The publishers desire to make it a great national organ, a powerful force for good. They want it to stand for what is best in American life and character, morality, cleanness and simplicity, breadth of interest and sincerity of purpose. [42]

Arena magazine editor B.O. Flower wrote in more than two dozen articles (27) in his magazine that the highest mission of journalism was to serve as a moral force. An example of Arena's discussion of the press as a moral force can be seen in a 1903 editorial that said:

> the best in journalism is demonstrated by those publications that are tireless toilers for the happiness of others . . . serving as a voice for the downtrodden and oppressed and as a way-shower of Progress.[43]

Editor Flower even repeated this point about the need for moral leadership from the press as the magazine stared down the barrel of bankruptcy. In the last issue of Arena Flower wrote:

> the American people are being systematically drugged by the press until they are falling into a profound lethargy. There never was a time when the people so needed . . . a thoroughly incorruptible, free, fearless, dignified and authoritative press to speak the honest truth, make a stand for morality and fight for those who can't fight for themselves.[44]

Even Munsey's magazine, which had a mercenary, bottom-line reputation among journalists, mentioned morality and its own moral obligations in three editorials about journalism between 1902 and 1912. A 1912 editorial, for instance, claimed the magazine was interested in running a series of comments from readers examining what constituted ethical conduct in politics. Editor Frank Munsey wrote that it was appropriate for his magazine to take up such important issues, since the popularity of Munsey's thrust it into a leadership position and demanded it act as a force for moral good.[45]

There must have been something in the air in 1912. Everybody's got into the act of patting itself on the back for acting as a powerful moral agent. An editorial in the magazine said:

> We have a stupendous force of 250,000 intelligent, educated Americans, the number of our subscribers, who can and do act together by buying our publication each month, seeking our moral guidance. . . . Such a power is irresistible. But we propose to deserve the highest measure of your favor by making each month a better magazine, one that constantly seeks the moral high ground. . .Our

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[42] "Editorial," Collier's, Dec. 5, 1903, p. 29.

[43] "Editorial," Arena, December 1903, p. 649. An obituary/editorial discussing former Chicago Tribune editor Henry D. Lloyd, said Lloyd represented the best in journalism because he led his publication to constantly do battle on behalf of the weak.

[44] "In the Mirror of the Present," Arena, August 1909, pp. 578-579.

[45] "A Question," Munsey's, August 1912, p. 681.

> magazine stands for wholesomeness, honesty, right-thinking. We have serious honest aims and a secure belief in real humor.[46]

When The Independent, under the editorship of William Hayes Ward, wrote about journalism, it talked most often about the press' effect on public morality. Rather than being a force for good, though, Ward warned that journalism could ruin society. Ward in effect, repeated in 16 editorials and news articles the same basic message he originally wrote in a 1902 editorial: "Any man, no matter how unlettered, vicious or depraved, may start a newspaper and scatter the seeds of sedition, class hatred, discontent or the fruits of prejudice."[47] In 1909, for instance, Ward wrote:

> It's a shame that today the Bible is becoming a forgotten book. The universal reading matter is now lurid newspaper headlines, sensational news stories, clever magazine articles and yellow fiction. Thanks to the squalid press, readers no longer wrestle with knotty problems of theology, ethics and the destiny of man. The popular mind is given over instead to the swish-swash of daily happenings.[48]

Public Service

> The purpose of a magazine is to educate by being timely and up-to-date, dealing with the great issues that constantly arise, keeping readers not only abreast of times but always in advance, not following but leading. . . to be startling in topic and fearless in treatment.[49]

That's the way Arena magazine summed up its view of journalism as a public service in a 1903 editorial - views that were reflected in the editorials of many other magazines of the time. Indeed, public service, which in this study includes the role of the press as educator, was mentioned in 108 articles (29 percent of journalism articles), during the period of this study. That figure places public service in the number one slot with moral force as the most frequently mentioned journalistic standard. This standard was explained in an Arena editorial this way: "The great issues of the day must be recognized- they must be met thoughtfully, intelligently, fearlessly . . . we must constantly seek solutions by teaching our readers by calling attention to the rapidly growing evils."[50]

A Collier's editorial in 1903 said readers were demanding this public service function of the press and smart editors were bound to heed the call:

> We have been hearing from readers about what they want in a magazine. . . . They say in letters 'keep us abreast of the times, help us to make ourselves well-

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[46] "With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's, February 1904, p. 290.

[47] "From Journalism to the Newspaper Industry," The Independent, Dec. 11, 1902, p. 2953.

[48] Ibid., Oct. 21, 1909, p. 939.

[49] "Publisher's Notes," Arena, December 1903, p. 671.

[50] Ibid.

informed citizens, tell us what the world is thinking and doing, don't be elaborate or dull, don't lecture us, but give us the facts and let them educate us.'"[51]

In 1907 The Independent ran a lengthy editorial that explained that muckraking or "the sensational literature of exposure," which exposes "corporate ruthlessness," is good, because it "helps in the ongoing process of American public education." The editorial went on to say that education is the goal of the magazine, because this can "help us become more thinking beings, less superstitious, less the victim of alternating fear and hope, more the reasoning, calculating, scientific man of the world."[52]

World's Work editor Walter Hines Page also sounded the public education theme - contending in 15 editorials and articles that the best journalism was a perfect public servant.

Truth Teller

Truth telling was the second leading theme, after moral force and public service (which tied for first place). Some 61 articles or 17 percent of the total number of editorials were devoted to this topic. A 1904 Arena editorial succinctly summed up the issue of truth-telling when it spoke with a near-religious zeal of the constant pursuit of truth all journalists should engage in. Editor Benjamin Orange Flower wrote:

> In the crucible of free discussion is found the exceedingly rare gold of truth. We believe . . . the cause of wonderful truth is bolstered and furthered by the strongest possible presentations of the opposition on nearly all issues. . . . Therefore, because we believe it is so important to strive to get as close to truth as possible, the Arena will be glad to accord a reasonable space to the other side, all the other sides.[53]

Collier's also waxed poetic on the subject of truth-telling in a 1911 article about the responsibilities of the press. The story said: "Truth, fogged by the imperfections of human sight, hidden under the wrappings of lies, stands the final aim of a reporter when he goes after a news item. . . . Truth is the very kernel of the reporter's art, as it is that of his ethics."[54]

But it was Everybody's magazine that most frequently and emphatically applauded truth-telling as the most desirable journalistic standard. A total of 50 percent of Everybody's articles and editorials about journalism said good journalism always told the truth - no matter who was offended.

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[51] "A Few Words from the Lion's Mouth," Collier's, Sept. 26, 1903, p. 2.

[52] "The Self-Education of the People," The Independent, March 14, 1907, p. 683.

[53] "Notes and Comments, Our Position," Arena, May 1904, p. 551.

[54] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper, Part VII, The Reporter and the News," Collier's, April 22, 1911, p. 21.

A January 1906 article in Everybody's summed this view up, saying: "a newspaper is a vendor of truth . . . its success is dependent on the amount or the percentage of truth. The primary job of the reporter is to collect truth and to present it in that form which will make it most generally understood and most convincing."[55]

Protector

The theme of the press as a protector was the third most popular theme expressed by journalists, after moral force/public service, which tied for the number one slot, and truth teller.

A 1911 Collier's article discussed the seductive notion of the press as a protector. The article said an editor is often tempted to ignore:

> the murders, suicides, divorces, the follies of polite society, to save readers from exposure to such ills. In fact, some editors believe it is the duty of the good and moral newspaper to ignore these sores on the body politic, to keep from inflaming the minds of the morbid, which can become overly stimulated by the sensational press.[56]

But it was Cosmopolitan and The Ladies' Home Journal, in particular, that stressed the protector role of the press more than any other single journalistic standard. Women, especially, need to be protected and the Ladies' Home Journal saw itself as the publication best suited for the job - that was the theme of 20 out of a total of 35 editorials about journalism printed in the Ladies' Home Journal between 1902 and 1912. For example, a 1904 editorial said: "The Journal declines each year more than $200,000 in patent medicine ads and other deceptive advertising," because it knows such ads can dupe its women readers into becoming unwitting addicts.[57] A 1905 editorial echoed that sentiment, saying "patent medicines are poison, deliberately pitched to women, especially. The Journal has a special obligation to alert its women readers that the patent medicine manufacturers look chiefly to women for the maintenance of their business."[58] Journal editor Edward Bok wrote in 1906 that:

> It's the job of the magazines and newspapers to open the eyes of the public to danger, in this instance, the contemptible practice of inducing people to drink

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[55] Hartley Davis, "Reporters of To-day, Stories of Our Foremost Newspaper Men and Beats They Have Scored,"Everybody's, January 1906, pp. 64-72. This particular quote is on p. 64.

[56] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper, A Study of Journalism in Its Relation to the Public: Pt. 1- "The Power of the Press," Collier's, Jan. 21, 1911, p. 15.

[57] "What Some People Write About," The Ladies' Home Journal, August 1904, p. 1.

[58] Ibid., March. 1905, p. 18.

> alcohol and poison under the guise of medicine. . . . The public conscience has to be awakened by the press.[59]

It is a particular concern over women's safety that Bok said, in a 1912 piece, led his publication to be willingly labeled 'old-fashioned," and 'unprogressive,' by some critics. In an editorial entitled "We Try, But We Just Can't," Bok said the Journal:

> will not be a leader in promoting progressive ideas, such as abolition of marriage because of its supposed barbarism or telling readers that a woman's place is in the world and not in the home. Readers have urged this. But these progressive ideas are just a little too new and who knows what harm they may cause our gentle readers.[60]

The press as protector was the main theme in 54 percent of the 37 articles about journalism in Cosmopolitan examined for this study. The Cosmopolitan editors defined the protector role over a period of several years, by writing that the best press should dig away at corruption and bring wrongdoing to public attention. A 1911 article in Cosmopolitan explained this stance by hailing muckrakers as true heroes:

> We have our soldiers of the common good, our tribunes of the truth, our conscripts of the social conscience - men who dare to rip the mask from the traitors and to voice the sacred rights of the people . . . . Those who cry out against publicity are the real enemies of the Republic. . . . In all this muck and mire of Boodledom, revealed by the [Charles Edward] Russell exposures, for example, we see one hopeful light. In among the grafters, defying them, fighting them, are a few noble and courageous men - patriots indeed, muckrakers, the glorious remnant, those who will not bend the knee to Baal. These are the saviors of society.[61]

Fairness

The topic of fairness was mentioned in 7 percent of the journalism articles. Harper's Weekly printed only 27 articles on journalism between 1902-1912. But the predominant theme, voiced in 55 percent of those articles, was the need for the press to be fair. The magazine gave many definitions of fairness, including the need to present all sides of issues and the need to avoid using the power of the editorial page as a launching pad for a political career.

A 1906 Harper's Weekly editorial seemed to reflect 1990s journalistic sensibilities when it said it was "blatantly unfair," for William Randolph Hearst to try to be a politician and editor at the same time. "In this double capacity, Hearst becomes a worthless public servant and defamatory, unreliable editor," the editorial said. It concluded by saying that Hearst was "reckless, dangerous, and despicable," in trying to further his career and ambitions through the pages of his newspapers. "Readers cannot trust what he prints for fear of his using his news columns for sordid self-advancement,"[62] the editorial said.

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[59] Ibid., "To You: A Personal Word," February 1906, p. 18.

[60] Ibid., April 1912, p. 5.

[61] "Magazine Shop-Talk," Cosmopolitan, January 1911, p. 267-268.

McClure's explained its view of journalistic fairness in a 1907 editorial that said the magazine's editors had worked extremely hard in a recent series about the Christian Science movement to "be fair." By this editor Samuel Sidney (S.S.) McClure explained that he meant the magazine had worked carefully to present both negative and positive views of the religion.

Although Collier's went into much more detail in a 1911 article about what constituted fair journalism, the magazine conceded that basic journalistic fairness involved balance in news stories and a right of reply. But the article explained there was much more involved. It said, in fact, there was an unwritten but fairly well known code of ethical and fair conduct for journalism that "the best, the directing journalists of to-morrow"[63] follow. There are four elements to this code of fairness, Collier's reporter Will Irwin explained:

> First - Never, without special permission, print information which you learn at your friend's house, or in your club. . . . Second - Except in the case of criminals, publish nothing without full permission of your informant. . . . Third - Never sail under false colors. State who you are and what newspaper you represent and whether or no your informant is talking for publication. If there is keyhole work to be done, leave it to the detectives. . . . Fourth - Keep this side of the home boundary. Remember that when the suicide lies dead in the chamber there are wretched hearts in the hall, that when the son is newly in jail, intrusion is torment to the mother.[64]

Money Making

When it came to the subject of money-making, nearly all the 10 magazines' editors adamantly declared in various editorials that they had nobler aims than simply making a profit - all except Frank Munsey, that is. Munsey was unabashed in his pursuit of money. He wrote in his magazine that the highest goal of journalism was to follow good business practices and make money, thus insuring the stability and permanence of the press. In a 1902 editorial Munsey proclaimed:

> We give the people what they want in so far as we can interpret their wants and can procure the material. Our most important goal is to please our customers and make money doing so. Circulation has never been in so healthy a condition as a result as it is today.[65]

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[62] Ibid., Oct.20, 1906, "Comment," pp. 1482-1483.

[63] Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper, Pt. VIII 'All the News that's Fit to Print,'" May, 1906, p. 19.

[64] Ibid., p. 19-20.

[65] "Impressions by the Way," by Frank Munsey, Munsey's, October 1902, p. 153.

Frank Munsey could have stepped easily into the corporate boardrooms of a modern communication conglomerate and take over as CEO today, judging from the total of 20 editorials he wrote about journalism during the muckraking era - 55 percent stressing the bottom line, the idea of giving readers what they want and insuring a tidy profit as a result.

In sharp contrast, making a profit was the last thing on the mind of Munsey's colleagues in the magazine publishing business - at least that's what they proudly proclaimed in more than a dozen editorials. However, money making was not a popular topic with the journalists. Only 4 percent of journalism articles discussed money making. But when the topic was addressed, it was generally in very pious tones. The Independent, for instance, proudly stated in a 1906 editorial that the magazine was "not founded for the purpose of making money and this has never been our dominant motive."[66] Instead the editors explained in a series of editorials that The Independent's purpose was to engage in "deeds of high emprise that will make this publication a knight errant."[67]

"Truth Deal" and "Saviors of Society:" Conclusion

> You [in the press] need to . . . give the people the facts and they will do the rest. Give them a truth deal and they will force a square deal.
>
> Letter to the Editor, Everybody's, 1906.[68]

> We have our soldiers of the common good, our tribunes of the truth, our conscripts of the social conscience - men who dare to rip the mask from the traitors and to voice the sacred rights of the people. . . . Those who cry out against publicity are the real enemies of the Republic. . . . In all this muck and mire of Boodledom, revealed by the [Charles Edward] Russell exposures, we see one hopeful light. In among the grafters, defying them, fighting them, are a few noble and courageous men - patriots indeed, the glorious remnant, those who will not bend the knee to Baal. These are the saviors of society.
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> Magazine Shop-Talk, Cosmopolitan, January, 1911.[69]

In her ground-breaking work, Dicken-Garcia found readers and journalists in the 1800s engaged in many discussions about journalistic standards. Critics of the era began to grapple with the meaning of the press in society, Dicken-Garcia writes, and to ask hard questions about appropriate journalistic boundaries of conduct. The research presented here establishes that this robust debate over journalistic standards continued throughout the muckraking era - at least in the hundreds of letters to the editor, editorials and articles examined in the 10 magazines surveyed.Some have suggested that the reader letters may have been fabricated by editors or reporters and therefore did not represent genuine reader sentiment. But the author of this research is satisfied that the letters are authentic - that is, genuine expressions of opinion about journalistic standards by magazine readers. This conclusion is based on a reading of 2,154 letters (652 of them relating specifically to journalistic standards). The letters reflect a wide range of styles, voices and opinions on many topics, which, in the author's opinion, would not be the case had the letters been fabricated by a a few editors or reporters. If there was one reporter or even two making up the letters, then one would expect to see stylistic similarities emerge over time. This was not the case. Further, many magazine editorials sought comments from readers about magazine content. If the editors were making up the letters, they would not bother to seek reader response. Moreover, it stretches the imagination to think that the likes of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, or Upton Sinclair, with their reputation for exposing wrongdoing and zeal in uncovering deception, would tolerate falsification of reader letters in the magazines they wrote for. The author believes further research into the letter writers' background, education, and occupation is a worthwhile area for additional research. However, the present task is to determine what the debate involving readers and journalists in the 10 magazines of the muckraking era reveals and to explore the value of those revelations.

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[66] "The Making of a Magazine," The Independent, Nov. 15, 1906, p. 1601.

[67] Ibid., August 15, 1907, p. 399.

[68] "With 'Everybody's' Publishers," Everybody's, October 1906, p. 577.

[69] "Magazine Shop-Talk," Cosmopolitan, January 1911, pp. 267-268.

This research found that the views expressed in the magazines by journalists and the views of the letters-to-the-editor writers about journalistic standards at the turn of the century were similar to each other in some respects, but also quite different from each other in other respects. Many of the journalists espoused a "savior/messiah" model, wherein the press' role is that of a moral guardian. But journalists disagreed among themselves: the theme of the press as a moral force tied for first place with the theme of the press as a public service in the journalism articles. Readers who wrote letters to the editor were more definite in their view that the best journalism was public service - providing readers with basic information. Some 38 percent of the letters to the editor endorsed the "information" model of the press: they wanted "just the facts." However, the theme of the press' role as a moral force ranked number two with readers. Thus, the findings presented here are similar to those presented in Dicken-Garcia's research gathered from a different century. The views of journalists and readers in the 1800s, she contends, were largely in harmony. Specifically, Dicken-Garcia says:

> the inner circle of journalists, closer to the press and its operations than non-journalists, simply represented more contracted views that nevertheless flowed from society's larger values. Looking at journalists' positions separately is important, but it quickly becomes clear that, although they generally dealt carefully with specific issues, their work merely operationalized implicit social standards.

> Most journalists espoused the same values as a large portion of the population at the time.[70]

The journalists in the 1800s, she concluded, simply reflected the values of the larger society. Although the evidence presented here supports that view, the evidence of this study can also be interpreted as carrying the seeds of a growing gap between journalists and readers. This interpretation is based on the data that shows 29 percent of journalists ranking their primary mission as that of a moral force, whereas the readers ranked public service as the primary aim of journalism (38 percent), with moral force trailing with 18 percent. From the evidence presented here, it can be argued that by the muckraking era (1902), journalists were starting to have professional values of their own - values that were distinctly different from average people. An inherent tension exists between the "preacher model" and "information" model - enough tension to constitute a split in the vision of journalism standards between journalists and nonjournalists.

Even putting aside the percentages and numbers included with this research, the author is convinced that with a qualitative analysis of the material, the themes of moral force and public service would emerge as the primary areas of concern of both readers and journalists.

The idea that journalists and readers may have begun to differ with each over what constitutes the ideal journalism by the early 1900s builds on the work of Dicken-Garcia. She says the distancing of journalists from readers started in the 1890s. She argues the separation was caused in part by the growing complexity of the news business. The press's capabilities, procedures, and goals were changing as production and distribution technologies developed. By 1890, according to Dicken-Garcia, journalists worked within a social institution grown so complex that even they had difficulty understanding it, while 'outsiders,' that is non-journalists, stood little chance at all. Dicken-Garcia says that by the end of the 1800s the press was evolving "from essentially a one- or two-person small shop operation of precarious stability to a corporate structure engaging thousands and irreversibly interlocked with society."[71]

As a result of this change, journalists were becoming a separate class and thinking of themselves as different from their readers, she argues. True to Dicken-Garcia's prediction, the present study of the muckraking era shows an intensification of the differences in journalistic standards between journalists and non-journalists between 1902 and 1912. Perhaps it was a growing concept of professionalism that resulted in journalists deliberately distancing themselves in their views from ordinary readers as a way of establishing separate identities. Psychologists say adolescents often find their identities by initially rejecting their parents' views of the world. One can argue that journalists in 1902 found their separate identity by rejecting journalistic standards of average readers or at least by establishing their own very separate views of what journalism should and shouldn't do. This question needs to be pursued in further research.

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[70] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards p. 97.

[71] Ibid., p. 224.

So to does the question of whether new journalistic standards were actually set during the muckraking era. No one - neither journalists nor letter writers - ever called muckraking a brand new journalistic phenomenon in the 10 years worth of material examined in this research. The claim that new journalistic standards were set in the muckraking era is widely touted in journalism histories. Chalmers, Evans, Kielbowicz, and Miraldi, among others, assert that muckraking was a new kind of journalism that established new standards. Miraldi says muckraking, with its "adversarial, critical and anti-authoritarian stance,"[72] forever altered basic expectations about journalistic standards. Walter M. Brasch asserts that muckraking caused no less than a journalistic revolution,[73] the effects of which are still being felt today. Have the journalism historians overstated the case in arguing that muckraking constituted a marked departure in journalistic standards and procedures? That claim that muckraking set new standards for journalism - is, at the very least, open to question, as a result of the findings of this research.

So too is the explanation that muckraking disappeared in 1912 because people grew bored with it. Journalism historians C.C. Regier, Frank Luther Mott, Edwin Emery, Dwight L. Teeter and others have popularized this idea.[74] But this research finds no evidence supporting that view. Only one editorial in World's Work ever mentioned boredom with muckraking.[75] The editorial offered no documentation to support its assertion, however. In contrast, hundreds of letters to the editor and articles talked about muckraking quite regularly right up until 1913 - when the phenomenon suddenly disappeared. There has been quite a bit of speculation about what may have led to the demise of muckraking, particularly in the works of Charles Edward Russell,[76] John Chamberlain,[77] Upton Sinclair [78] and Walter Brasch.[79] The research examined here does not deal with those concerns - instead it merely asserts that, based on the evidence uncovered here, the claim that muckraking become boring to readers and/or journalists needs further substantiation to be credible.

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[72] Robert Miraldi, Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 6.

[73] Walter M. Brasch, Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience, (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990, p. ix.)

[74] see Mott's A History of American Magazines, vol. 4, p. 209, also Edwin Emery, in the The Press and America, 3rd edition, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972), p. 406, repeats the unsubstantiated notion that muckraking began to bore readers and Jean Folkerts, Dwight L. Teeter, Jr. Voices of a Nation, (New York, Macmillan Publishing, 1989), p. 324, also assert that "the public grew tired of exposure."

[75] "The Public Weary of the Literature of Exposure," World's Work, XII, May 1906, p. 7469.

There is another finding of this research worth noting: the great affection for the press expressed in letter after letter to the editor and in hundreds of articles and editorials published between 1902 and 1912. In examining published discussion of the press in the 1800s, Dicken-Garcia discovered a large number of press critics who wanted the press brought under control to prevent perceived deterioration of established sociopolitical structures and values.[80] Although a handful of letter writers expressed similar views in the study presented here of the muckraking era, the majority of readers actually defended the press and hailed its good works. For the most part readers seemed to express what some might describe as either a naive or optimistic notion that the press would and could improve, simply if its shortcomings were pointed out. A genuine enthusiasm for the press seems to leap off the pages of most of the letters to the editor - even those that lambasted the press for its shortcomings. The majority of the letter writers said they sincerely believed the press was a powerful instrument for good; only occasionally did it need to be reminded of its powers and responsibilities, to straighten out and live up to public expectations.

Journalists also expressed great love for their chosen field. They wrote glowing editorials about their job and its grand mission at the slightest provocation, for example, on the anniversary of the founding of their publication, when their circulation climbed, when competitors mentioned them, when their stocks went up or down. Some of this could be explained as mere advertising hype and promotional horn-blowing. But the unending stream of material reveals genuine affection.

The Value of This Research

The readers' and journalists' views presented here are primary sources that tell us what at least some readers and reporter/editors at the turn of the century said about journalistic standards. A picture, however murky and perhaps distorted it may be, emerges, illustrating the kinds of public discourse that some readers and reporters were engaged in on the subject of what was good and bad journalism.

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[76] See Charles Edward Russell, "The Magazine Soft Pedal," Pearson's, February 1914; also, "How Business Controls News," Pearson's, 31 (May 1914) pp. 546-547 .

[77] John Chamberlain, Farewell to Reform, (New York: Liveright, 1932).

[78] Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check (Pasadena, Calif.: Published by Author, 1919).

[79] Walter M. Brasch, Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990).

[80] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, p. 148.

Peter Novick says there is a tendency in modern times to think of history's collective voyage toward the much contested goal of truth as involving tacking back and forthe, rather than sailing in a straight line toward a clear objective.[81] The work presented here attempts to tack toward the truth. It does so by providing a detailed picture of what those people who wrote letters to the 10 magazines surveyed and the journalists whose articles and editorials were published in those same magazines thought about journalism standards during the muckraking era.

Granted, very different value structures were in place then. But despite that, journalists and non-journalists seemed to be able to communicate with each other in the muckraking period with a shared affection for journalism. Simply finding out that there was once a shared vision of journalism expressed in press criticism, as Dicken-Garcia has done, is vitally important. So too is tracing the record of what happened after that, in the first decade of the next century of press examination. That is what this work is designed to begin to do. It might offer ideas about how to proceed or what mistakes to avoid. Ideas might be suggested about meaningful solutions or pitfalls that must be avoided.

Journalists and those who wrote letters to the editor between 1902 and 1912 were no super beings - they struggled with their own imperfections as we do today. But it is their very frailties and imperfections that mean that equally imperfect creatures of today might learn something useful from them about what the press should and shouldn't do - and how journalists and non-journalists can communicate and seek to get along with each other. Whether the media today offers a "Truth Deal" or functions as "Saviors of Society" is still a part of society's conversation about the press. It helps to know where this conversation began if one is going to make a meaningful contribution: Sometimes context alone can deepen meaning and understanding. It is hoped that this examination of journalistic standards in the muckraking era can provide at least some context for reaching a better understanding of journalistic standards today.

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[81] See Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Table 1. Total number of letters by magazine and percentages related to journalism, 1902-1912.

Magazine	All Letters	Letters about Journalism	% Related to Journalism
Arena	20	20	100 %
Collier's	220	195	89 %
Cosmopolitan	70	41	59 %
Everybody's	615	180	29 %
Harper's Weekly	1108	127	12 %
Independent	9	0	0 %
Ladies' Home Journal	73	52	71 %
McClure's	28	27	96 %
Munsey's	0	0	0 %
World's Work	11	10	91 %
Totals	2154	652	30 %

Table 2. Number of letters about journalism and articles by journalists about journalism published by magazine by year.

Magazine	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Arena	2J	5J	16L 7J	7J	3J	7J	4L 14J	9J			
Collier's	3J	6J	7L 8J	4L 3J	4L 8J	37L 4J	27L 8J	26L 7J	32L 8J	32L 16J	26L 10J
Cosmo	3J		1J	1J	31L 9J	2L 3J	6L 5J	0L 3J	1L 3J	1L 9J	
Everybdy		5L 2J	29L 7J	17L 6J	37L 6J	9L 7J	7L 4J	7L 2J	10L 7J	16L 9J	43L 2J
Harper's	2J	4J	23L 3J	5L 3J	5J	53L 3J	15L	2L	24L 1J	5L 6J	
Indep.	1J	1J		2J	2J	3J	4J	2J	1J	4J	5J
Ladies'		2J	2J	2J	4J	35L 8J	5J	8L 5J	1L 1J	2J	8L 4J
McClure's	2J	2J	26L 2J	3J	2J	4J	1L		1J	1J	
Munsey's	1J	4J	3J	4J	1J	2J	1J			1J	3J
World's W	3J	1J	4J		7J	2J		1L/2J	2J	9L	
Totals	17J	5L 27J	101L 37J	26L 31J	72L 47J	136L 43J	60L 41J	44L 30J	68L 24J	63L 48J	77L 24J

Note: Letters about journalism are designated by an L; journalism articles by journalists are designated by a J.

Table 3. The leading themes in letters to the editor by magazine by percentage.

Magazine	**Theme**	**Total: All Letters (Nonjournalism & Journalism)**	**% (And Number of Letters) Related To Theme**
Arena	Public Service	20	60 % (12)
Collier's	Fairness	220	23 % (50)
Cosmopolitan	Public Service	70	31 % (22)
Everybody's	Public Service	615	21 % (130)
Harper's Weekly	Political Partisanship	1108	8 % (85)
Independent	(Not Applicable)		
Ladies' H Journal	Public Morality	73	60 % (44)
McClure's	Free Press	28	64 % (18)
Munsey's	(Not Applicable)		
World's Work	Public Service	11	81 % (9)

Table 4. Themes by year in letters to the editor, 1902-1912, all magazines.

Themes	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Public Service		5	45	20	40	18	17	22	21	24	34
Moral Force			6	2	22	40	9	2	7	11	18
Political Partisanship			19	2		43	16	4	18	7	5
Fairness			6	1	10	7	7	6	14	14	5
Free Press			22			7	2		3	3	14
Truth			2	1		14	1	10	5	4	
Common Man			1			7	8				1
Totals		5	101	26	72	136	60	44	68	63	77

Table 5. Leading themes in letters to the editor, 1902-1912, all magazines.

Theme	Theme Total in 652 Letters: All years	Theme % of Total of 652 Journalism Letters
Public Service	246	38 %
Moral Force	117	18 %
Political Partisanship	114	18 %
Fairness	70	11 %
Free Press	51	8 %
Truth Telling	37	6 %
Common Man	17	3 %
Total	652	

Table 6. Leading themes in total of 369 journalism articles by magazines, by percentage.

Magazine	Theme	Total Articles about journalism	% Related To Theme
Arena	Moral Force	54	50 % (27)
Collier's	Moral Force	81	52 % (42)
Cosmopolitan	Protector	37	54 % (20)
Everybody's	Truth	52	50 % (26)
Harper's Weekly	Fairness	27	55 % (15)
Independent	Moral Force	25	64 % (16)
Ladies' H Journal	Protector	35	57 % (20)
McClure's	Public Service	17	94 % (16)
Munsey's	Money Making	20	55 % (11)
World's Work	Public Service	21	71 % (15)

Table 7. Themes by year in 369 journalism commentaries by journalists, 1902-1912, all magazines.

Themes	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Moral Force	3	9	12	11	10	12	7	12	5	15	12
Public Service	7	7	9	9	16	13	15	10	7	12	3
Truth	3	4	6	3	9	8	8	2	7	8	3
Protector	3	3	3	3	9	4	8	4	1	10	3
Fairness		2	6	3	2	3	2	1	3	3	1
Money Making	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	1	1		2
Totals	17	27	37	31	47	43	41	30	24	48	24

Table 8. Leading themes in journalism articles by journalists,1902-1912, all magazines.

Theme	Theme Total in 369 Journalism Articles: All Years	Theme % of Total 369 Journalism Articles
Moral Force	106	29 %
Public Service	106	29 %
Truth	61	17 %
Protector	51	14 %
Fairness	26	7 %
Money Making	15	4 %
Total	369	

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Effects of Exemplification in Magazine Journalism on the Perception of Social Issues

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Running head: EXEMPLIFICATION AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Abstract

A news report on the plight of some American family farmers, presented in magazine format, was manipulated to create versions differing in the degree of precision of general information (precise, imprecise) and in the use of exemplifying case histories and testimonials (selective, mixed, representative). Precise information consisted of quantitative data from pertinent research. Imprecise information consisted of qualitative assertions. Selective exemplification featured only cases consistent with the focus of the report. Representative exemplification featured a distribution of consistent and inconsistent cases in proportion with their distribution in the population. Mixed exemplification featured a balanced distribution of consistent and inconsistent cases. In two experiments, respondents reported their own views of the issue at different times after reading (no delay, two week / one week delay). In both investigations, the accuracy of estimates of failing farms was found to be highest for representative and lowest for selective exemplification, with mixed exemplification achieving an intermediate degree of accuracy. This effect of exemplar distributions was stable over time (i.e. over the two / one week delay period). Also in both investigations, the effect of the precision of general information proved negligible. Regarding the report itself, the three versions of exemplification were not considered differently informative. However, selective exemplification was deemed more distressing to read than representative exemplification.

Effects of Exemplification in Magazine Journalism on the Perception of Social Issues

Journalistic reports of social phenomena, although they may address a wide range of topics, customarily follow a set format. Irrespective of topic variance, news stories generally contain two major types of information: (1) baserate information indicating the status of the issue under consideration, and (2) exemplifying information, or exemplars, about individuals whose experiences illustrate the scope of the phenomenon. Journalists combine the two types of information in news reports as a means to explain often complex social issues in language that is both understandable and interesting to their readers or viewers (Garrison, 1992; Izard, Culbertson, & Lambert, 1990; Newson & Wollert, 1985).

Baserate information, which refers to general descriptions of the number of people or things involved in a given social phenomenon, may vary substantially in precision of quantification, ranging from ratio-measurements involving minimal error to intuitive appraisals expressed in ordinal comparisons (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Nisbett & Ross, 1980).

Exemplars or case descriptions, on the other hand, are judged in terms of typicality rather than by quantified precision. Assuming that the outright fabrication of exemplars is rare in journalism (Abel, 1984; Peterson, 1956), case descriptions are presumed to be veridical and, to qualify as exemplars, to define incidents that fall within the realm of a social phenomenon under consideration. Ideally, such exemplars should feature frequently occurring, typical cases. Yet typicality is not always the criterion used by journalists in selecting exemplars. Instead, case descriptions are frequently chosen for their dramatic, entertaining, or sensational qualities rather than their accurate reflection of the topic of the news report (Bogart, 1980; Haskins, 1981; Rothbart, Fulero, Jensen, Howard, & Birrell, 1978). Atypical exemplars are often selected in preference to more drab, typical ones. Moreover, such atypical exemplars are often aggregated, one after the other, forming series of highly entertaining but nonrepresentative case descriptions. For instance, a report on Jewish hatred toward Palestinians is likely to feature only interviews with the most spiteful individuals that can be found, regardless of the atypicality of such persons in the Jewish community. Likewise, a report on carjacking victims is liable to focus on individuals who were brutally harmed, in spite of the fact that few carjacking victims actually suffer any type of serious injury. Such aggregation of atypical exemplars, while possibly appealing to the imagination of readers or viewers, has been found to distort their perceptions of, and beliefs about, particular social phenomena (Brosius & Bathelt, 1994; Zillmann, Perkins, & Sundar, 1992). It would appear, then, that distorted exemplification is neither in the public interest nor in the interest of journalists committed to informing the public in the most veridical, accurate way possible.

Nevertheless, the journalistic practice of selective exemplar usage is justifiable to some degree. Variation within a defined population of events of interest can be such that a subgroup in focus constitutes a small minority, and that the majority of events cannot possibly be exemplified in proportional terms. For instance, if the risk of complications from a particular vaccination is one out of three million, it would be absurd to consider proportional exemplification with persons who suffered complications and persons who did not--in efforts to be fair to the representation of the risk. Limiting exemplification to a subgroup of events thus seems unavoidable, even appropriate. Problems arise only to the extent that the subpopulation is poorly or not at all defined, leaving the impression that a larger-than-actual group is represented. For instance, if it were made clear that only a particular small number of Jews, or a specific small percentage of the Jewish community, subscribes to the formula that "a million Arabs are not worth one Jewish fingernail" (a rabbi's declaration, according to ABC news, March 2, 1994), gross misperceptions of attitudes in the community are unlikely. Such qualifying information is rarely presented, even if available.

Moreover, qualifying information may not exist or be inaccessible, and misperceptions are invited. For instance, news reports on gays seem partial to exhibiting militant gays. As nobody has any idea about the ratio of militant, radical gays to gays preferring an unobtrusive life style, the impression is invited that most gays, if not all, are militant.

The practice of using series of atypical exemplars raises enticing questions about consequences for the perception and evaluation of the social phenomena addressed in news reports. If it were safe to assume that readers or viewers attend to all news stories with great concern and interpret the acquired information critically and cautiously, it would seem reasonable to conclude that these news consumers recognize the selective use of exemplars and are able to put the information appropriately into perspective. It appears, however, that such well-informed and motivated readers or viewers are small in number. Social-cognition research (e.g., Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Gunter, 1987; Kahneman, Slovic, & Tversky, 1982; Nisbett & Ross, 1980; Tversky & Kahneman, 1971, 1974) suggests a more realistic model of the typical news consumer, one for which the absorption of news information is far less than perfect. Information intake, storage, and processing, as well as the formation of impressions and judgments, are subject to distortion by cognitive shortcuts. Forced to deal with massive amounts of information in limited periods of time, individuals become "cognitive misers" and employ paradigms of reasoning known as heuristics (Kahneman et al., 1982; Sherman & Corty, 1984; Taylor, 1981; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Such shortcuts often override the application of basic statistical considerations and allow for proficiency primarily at the expense of thoroughness.

The availability heuristic (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973) applies most directly to the consequences of selective exemplar distribution in news reports. Individuals employing this heuristic evaluate the frequency or likelihood of events in dependence upon the ease and quickness with which pertinent instances or associations come to mind--or more specifically, are retrieved from memory and avail themselves in information processing that serves the formation of judgment. Although this method is skewed by storage, search, and retrieval biases, the heuristic produces relatively reliable judgments in cases where a fair number of randomly aggregated events have been witnessed within a relatively short period of time. Such precision is lost, however, when the conditions for attention are less ideal, which they usually are (Kahneman & Tversky, 1972; Paivio, 1971; Rothbart et al., 1978).

Ease of retrieval of pertinent cases, then, exerts a strong influence on judgment and is capable of biasing it in predictable ways. More specifically, the frequent and recent activation of atypical case memories appears to lead to the misjudgment of the frequency and likelihood of the population of cases, making case-related events appear more prevalent than they actually are (Sanbonmatsu & Fazio, 1991; Srull & Wyer, 1979, 1986; Wyer & Srull, 1981).

It might be suggested that the projected misperception of issues caused by the selective use of exemplars in news reports could be readily corrected by the inclusion of reliable baserate information. The combination of general information and multiple exemplars--the predominant pattern for news reports of social phenomena--should enable readers or viewers to grasp the overall scope of an issue and place exemplars in perspective as simple illustrations of individual manifestations of a broader, pluralistic phenomenon. The research evidence on this point, unfortunately, is not encouraging. It has been observed repeatedly that readers pay comparatively little attention to abstract baserate information about population characteristics, but that they attend more strongly to, and are more influenced by, concrete anecdotal, but usually less valid and reliable information (Bar-Hillel & Fischhoff, 1981; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Manis, Avis, & Cardoze, 1981; Manis, Dovalina, Avis, & Cardoze, 1980; McArthur, 1981).

Hamill, Wilson, and Nisbett (1980), for example, found that readers of reports about welfare recipients formed their impressions on the basis of colorful, yet atypical, case descriptions rather than precise baserate data. The effect was present even when readers were specifically told that the exemplars were not typical of welfare recipients. The inclusion of extreme exemplars, often involving sensational accounts of shocking acts, appears to enhance this dominant influence of exemplars (Rothbart et al., 1978).

It should be noted, however, that instances exist in which baserates are considered. When baserate information is the only information provided, respondents do form their judgments on the basis of it (Hamill et al., 1980; Manis et al., 1980; Nisbett & Borgida, 1975). Also, respondents are more likely to use baserate information if its causal relevance to a judgmental task is made salient than if it is not (Ajzen, 1977); and if exemplars are presented so as to appear less relevant to a judgmental task, they are ignored in favor of baserate information (Ginosar & Trope, 1980). Overall, however, when placed in competition with vivid exemplars, the usually more pallid baserate information is largely disregarded.

The dominant effect of the aggregation of exemplars in news stories has only recently received scholarly attention (Brosius & Bathelt, 1994; Zillmann et al., 1992). The initial investigations addressed implications for issue perception of dichotomous distributions of exemplars featuring distinct events in populations of interest. Specifically, they sought to determine (a) whether the distribution of exemplars in a sample of exemplars representing distinct events influences presumptions about the distribution of these events in the population, and (b) whether in news reports exemplar distributions dominate baserate information in their effect on issue perception the way they do outside journalistic endeavors.

Zillmann et al., (1992) examined this issue by presenting different versions of a newsmagazine report on weight regaining by dieters. Baserate information about the percentage of people who regain weight after participating in a diet program (about one-third) was combined with varying distributions of exemplifying case descriptions. In a first condition, exemplar distribution was selective, featuring only cases consistent with the focus of the report--that is, people who had regained their weight (nine minority exemplars). The second, representative condition involved a distribution of consistent and nonconsistent cases in proportion with their actual distribution in the population (three minority versus six majority exemplars). Mixed exemplification, in a third condition, featured a distribution of consistent and nonconsistent cases that gave recognition to the majority of cases, but overrepresented the focal minority of cases (six minority versus three majority exemplars). The news stories were also manipulated to create versions differing in the degree of precision of general information (precise and imprecise). Respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of weight-regaining dieters either immediately after exposure to the report or two weeks later. Accuracy of estimates was found to be higher for reports presenting precise general information than for reports presenting imprecise information, an effect which was stable over time. Exemplification, however, produced markedly stronger effects immediately after exposure. Results indicated that exposure to selective exemplification led to a gross overestimation of the relative frequency of weight regainers, compared to the effect of mixed and representative exemplar distributions. Although baserate information stated that an average of only one-third of dieters regain their weight, respondents who had read stories featuring only selective exemplars estimated that 75 percent of dieters were unsuccessful in keeping off their weight. Over time, respondents regressed toward initial beliefs, removing the effect of exemplification.

A series of four experiments by Brosius and Bathelt (1994) further explored the impact of exemplar distributions on impression formation and extended it to persuasion. In these studies, the researchers varied the number and the ratio of exemplars representing majority and minority positions, the vividness of the exemplars, precision of baserate information, the medium of presentation, and time of measurement. All studies utilized stories about four topics: the replacement of coin telephones by card telephones in a small town, the quality of university cafeteria food, the quality of traditional apple wine in Frankfurt, Germany, and the introduction of obligatory personal-computer courses. In the first experiment, it was found that stories with exemplar distributions consistent with the baserate information were perceived as more professional, informative, and credible, and also as less biased. Moreover, even for the inconsistent versions, respondents did ascribe the stories an average credibility and journalistic quality. In this first experiment, the researchers found a strong main effect of exemplar distribution on perceived majority and minority opinions. Students asked to recall majority and minority opinions stated in the news reports thought them to be proportional with the ratio of majority and minority exemplars presented. For example, the baserate information in the first story indicated that the large majority was against the use of card telephones. In the consistent exemplar version, the perceived distribution of opinions reflected exactly the distributions of exemplars with four against and one in favor of card telephones. In the inconsistent exemplar version, the perception of majority and minority opinions was equally influenced by the exemplar distribution, although in the opposite direction. This was despite the presence of baserate information to the contrary.

Additionally, the exemplar distribution had an effect on respondents' own opinions about the four issues mentioned in the news reports. Independent of baserate information, respondents showed a tendency to follow the majority opinion suggested by the distribution of exemplars. No evidence was found to support the notion that vividness of language had an influence on the respondents' estimates of opinion distributions or of their own opinions.

In their second study, an extension of the first, the baserate information was presented in relative terms. Again, results revealed a strong effect of exemplar distribution and no appreciable effect of vividness of language. However, the effects on subjects' own opinions were weaker than in the first experiment.

The third study systematically varied the distribution of exemplars. The experimental versions varied from exclusive exemplification of the baserate information (ratio 4:0) through complete contradiction (ratio 0:4). Results indicated that despite the baserate information, which was identical in all conditions, the perceived distribution of opinions in the population reflected the distribution of exemplars nearly perfectly.

In their final experiment, the researchers used both print and radio versions of the stories (the first three projects utilized only radio versions). Results showed that the effects of exemplar distributions were also strong for the print versions, although the effects were slightly weaker than those found in the radio versions. The final study also investigated the delayed effects of exemplar distribution. It was found that the effect of exemplar distribution was present a week after exposure to the news reports. Although consistent and inconsistent exemplar distributions were less polarized after the week, the effects were still apparent.

The present investigation further examines the effects of variations in exemplar distribution on respondents' perception of social phenomena. However, in contrast to the studies reported by Brosius and Bathelt (1994), in which respondents were asked to recall majority and minority opinion percentages stated and/or exemplified in news reports prior to answering questions about their own opinions concerning the issue--a practice that may have prompted respondents to match their own opinions to those perceived in the population--the present investigation focuses on respondents' overall personal views of the social phenomena discussed in news reports. This focus implies that the pertinent question to be addressed is how news consumers view their world after reading, hearing, or watching particular news reports, rather than how much specific information they are able to retain from these reports. The question is one of lasting issue perception rather than short-term recall.

Most importantly, the present investigation seeks to extend the findings on issue perception obtained by Zillmann et al., (1992). This initial study utilized a news report about a topic with which respondents were quite familiar: weight regaining after dieting. Presumably as a result of such familiarity and salience, the effect of selective exemplar distributions was short-lived. Respondents regressed to initially held beliefs about the so-called yo-yo phenomenon. In an effort to prevent that the effect of exemplar aggregations and baserate information can readily regress to initially held beliefs, the present investigation employed an issue with which respondents were unfamiliar--in the sense of not knowing any specifics and not holding well-defined initial beliefs. Under these conditions, a lasting, stable effect of the message variables may be expected.

Specifically, the present investigation manipulated a newsmagazine story on the economic status of family farms in the United States to create the following conditions that were factorially varied: The story with baserate information that was (a) precise or (b) comparatively imprecise; furthermore, with a series of exemplars that was (a) selective in the sense of being entirely consistent with the focus of the story, (b) mixed in that it provided some counterexemplars along with the consistent ones, and (c) representative in that the consistent and counterexemplars accurately reflected the actual population proportion of exemplified cases. Respondents read, among other things, one of these six versions and provided their perceptions of the phenomenon under consideration either (a) quasi-immediately after reading or (b) one week or two weeks later.

Expectations of effects on impression formation were derived from the discussed heuristics. Generally speaking, it was expected that the pallid, abstract nature of baserate information allows the series of exemplars to dominate impression formation, and that this dominance grows over time because of stronger fading and poorer accessibility of the pallid information. Additionally, it was expected that the nonsalience of, and unfamiliarity with, the topic of the news report would create effects that are comparatively stable over time.

The following specific hypotheses were advanced:

H_1: The perception of social issues is formed primarily on the basis of encountered distributions of pertinent exemplars.

H_2: The influence of pallidly presented baserate information on issue perception is secondary, if not negligible.

H_3: Over time, the influence of exemplar distributions regresses (i.e. initially created differentiations grow weaker). The time course of the regression depends on (a) pre-existing beliefs concerning the social issue under consideration and (b) the likelihood of message interference. Specifically, regression will be accelerated by firmly established prior beliefs and by subsequently received information that is inconsistent with beliefs created by the exemplification.

H_4: Over time, the influence of exemplification will increasingly dominate that of pallidly presented baserate information.

Experiment 1: Method

Overview

A 3x2x2 design was employed, with three conditions of news exemplars (selective, mixed, representative), two of precision of baserate information (low, high), and two of time of assessment of acquired information (immediate, delayed) as independent-measures factors. All experimental participants read three unrelated news stories. Two were used to prevent focus on the experimental story and to mask the objective of the investigation. Half the respondents were then asked questions about one of the masking stories and about the subject matter of the experimentally manipulated story. The other half was asked questions about the masking stories only.

Exactly two weeks later, all respondents returned to the testing room where they read two new unrelated news articles. They were then asked questions about the stories they had just read. Those respondents who had not answered questions about the subject matter of the experimentally manipulated story in the first session, now answered these questions.

Respondents

Respondents were recruited from introductory communication classes. One-hundred-ninety participated in both study sessions. Gender was evenly distributed throughout all experimental conditions. Respondents received class credit for participation.

Procedure

Respondents were told they would be participating in a study with two unrelated sessions. During the first session, they would read several articles about contemporary issues and then answer questions about these issues. During the second session, two weeks later, they would similarly read articles about other issues and answer questions about those issues.

The experimental booklets containing the news stories and questionnaires were then distributed. The booklets had been arranged in such a way that the six exemplars/precision versions appeared in random order, layer after layer. The session administrator directed respondents through the procedure, one segment at a time.

The experimental booklet started with a questionnaire collecting demographic data. The questionnaire was followed by the experimental article. It concerned financial difficulties in family farming and was entitled "Banks and Farmers Plowing Same Ground for Cash Crops." The report was attributed to two correspondents and was paged and dated at the bottom. It was made to appear as a photocopy from US News & World Report. Following a wait-for-instructions separation page, the second story was presented. Analogous to the first story, it was made to appear as a photocopy from Newsweek. The article was entitled "Keeping off Weight: The Battle with Diet Plans." It addressed the problem of weight regaining after participation in diet programs. After another separation page, the third story was presented. This story was about oil policy and made to appear as a photocopy from Time. It as entitled "Paying the Bill for the Party Next Door." Another separation page followed. It was in turn followed by the questionnaire assessing without delay, in half of the cases, information acquisition/retention from (a) the unmanipulated third story ("Paying the Bill") and (b) the first-placed experimental story ("Banks and Farmers"). This group responded to (c), the second- placed additional disguise story ("Keeping off Weight"), in the second session. The other half of cases responded to (a) and (c) in the first session, and to the experimental story (b) in the second session, two weeks after reading it.

In the second session, all respondents read two articles unrelated to any of the other news items and presented their opinions about them. The respondents who, in the first session, had not been queried about the issues involved in the experimental story, now answered the questionnaire concerning this story.

News-Story Variations

The story about financial difficulties in family farming was especially written. Six versions were created. Two versions of baserate information were factorially varied with three versions of exemplification of this baserate information. The baserate information projected a dichotomous distribution of those family farmers who lost money vs. those farmers who managed to make a profit. All story versions featured nine exemplars--that is, nine pertinent cases exemplifying the one or the other component of the dichotomy. All versions opened with an exemplar, presented the baserate information, and then reported the remaining eight exemplars.

Precision of baserate information. Baserate information was presented in either a highly precise (high precision) or comparatively imprecise (low precision) manner.

In the high-precision condition, the money-losing farmer / money-making farmer dichotomy was quantified. In the low-precision condition, the dichotomy was described in verbal, comparative terms only. The paragraph below specifies the manipulation, with high-precision information in parentheses and low-precision information in brackets.

> (Nearly one out of every three family farms) [A lot of the farms] in America lose money, according to a study by a consortium of midwestern universities. "The country's farmers are losing (some $50 million a year,") [millions each year,"] says J. Patrick Irons, director of the U.S. Agrarian Research Institute in Chicago, Ill., which funded the study.
>
> (In 70 percent of the cases,) [Much of the time,] the study determined, banks were largely responsible for the farmers' financial woes.

Exemplar distributions. The exemplars used to illustrate the story's baserate information were manipulated to create three distinct, principal types of exemplar distribution.

A first distribution, selective exemplars, simulated the characteristic usage of exemplars in journalistic practice: All illustrations were consistent with the focal point of the story. As focal story points are usually defined by cases drawn from a minority of newsworthy cases, all illustrations tend to be consistent with the minority, not the majority, of cases of interest. Thus, because the experimental story focused on farmers who lose money (who, among all farmers, constitute a minority--according to the cited report), all nine exemplars described farmers whose family farms lose money. Additionally, in these exemplars the banks were blamed for the farmers' misfortunes. The following is an exemplar of this kind.

> Josh Davidson of Waterloo, Iowa, wiped the grease off his calloused hands after replacing the ball bearings on a 15-year-old combine he bought from a neighbor.
>
> After losing money for the fifth year in a row, Davidson had to sell his new equipment, lay off most of his hired help and take a winter job working for the state.
>
> "I'd quit farming, but I refuse to allow the bank to gain control of my farm," he says. "Bank officials begged me to borrow more money to finance more acreage and more equipment. 'You're a good farmer; you can make it big, Josh.' Now look at me--farming more acres with fewer hired men and older equipment while interest payments suck out every cent of profit and more."

An alternative distribution, representative exemplars, featured exemplars that were consistent with either the minority or majority of cases, and it did so in proportion with the distribution of these cases in the population of cases under consideration. Accordingly, because farmers who lose money amounted to about one-third of all farmers, only three out of the nine exemplars were employed to represent the minority of cases. The majority of cases, family farmers who make money, were represented with six exemplars. These money-making farmers consistently acknowledged the bankers' helpfulness and support in their farming success. The following is a majority exemplar, inconsistent with the focal group of the story.

> Reese Chandler's dreams of an enduring family farm seemed far fetched but turned into realities after two straight years of record rainfall put him $50,000 in the black. The banks have helped the Walla Walla, Wash., farmer invest wisely, and he has made money farming for five more consecutive years. However, Chandler still uses bank loans. The 60-year-old farmer says the bank makes him rest easy at night.

Minority exemplars were converted to majority exemplars by changing the financial circumstances of the case. Person and locale identifications were maintained, however. The order of presentation for exemplars was as follows: two minority, six majority, and one minority. There thus were two transitions from the one type to the other. Brief transitional sentences were placed between exemplar types to avoid impressions of an arbitrary or contradictory exemplar aggregation. The transitional sentences stated, essentially, that not all family farmers have the same circumstances (as in the preceding exemplars) and that the experience of other farmers (which was then illustrated) was very different.

An often-used compromise distribution, mixed exemplars, also featured exemplars that were consistent with either the minority or majority of cases, but it did so in an unsystematic, nonproportional manner. Such distributions are commonly employed to acknowledge the existence of alternative outcomes (i.e. outcomes other than, or opposite to, the outcome in focus) and to give the impression of balanced reporting. In order to create such a mixed distribution, the proportions of the representative exemplar distribution were reversed: Six out of the nine exemplars were employed to represent (or more correctly, to overrepresent) the focal minority of cases, namely family farmers who lose money; and only three exemplars represented (or underrepresented) the majority of cases, namely family farmers who make a profit. The order of presentation for exemplars was as follows: three minority, three majority, and three minority. There were again two transitions from the one type to the other. The transitional sentences, specified for the representative exemplar distribution, were as before placed between exemplar types.

Concomitant variation of bankers' involvement. In addition to the manipulation of exemplars illustrating the successful/unsuccessful family farm dichotomy, degree of banker responsibility for the plight of farmers was also varied. For all minority exemplars (those of family farmers who lose money), information was included suggesting that banks were largely to blame for the failure of family farms. The paragraph below illustrates how blame was attributed to the banks.

> William Moore of Carrolton, Texas, says banks continue to offer him loans despite the fact that he has lost money the last two years. Moore's farm belonged first to his grandfather, and the third generation owner has refused to cut back on his acreage even though it has required greater overhead and debt.
>
> "I've always considered myself a conservative businessman," Moore says. "I haven't bought the newer and bigger equipment. But I'm still losing money and that just makes me more dependent upon the bank to stay in business. Sometimes I wonder if that's exactly what the financial institution had in mind when it loaned me the money in the first place."

Likewise, for majority exemplars (those of family farmers who earn a profit), the banks were given credit for contributing to the farms' successes. The following paragraph specifies the manipulation.

> During the bad years, the banks continued to offer William Moore of Carrolton, Texas, loans, and now he's making more money in one year than he did in the first five of the 1980s. Moore's farm belonged first to his grandfather, and the third generation owner refused to cut back on his acreage even though it has required greater overhead and debt.
>
> "I've always considered myself a conservative businessman," Moore says. "I haven't bought bigger equipment, and now I'm less dependent upon the bank to stay in business and I'm making money to pay back loans. Sometimes I wonder if that's

exactly what the financial institution had in mind when it believed in me enough to loan me money in the first place."

Demographic Measures

Prior to exposure to the various news stories, respondents were queried about class standing, gender, news consumption habits, and various self-perceptions.

Measures of Informativeness and Reading Ease

The questionnaire assessing reactions to, and impressions formed on the basis of, the various news stories was composed of three sections, one for each story issue. Each section started with the question "How informative was the story about ...?" Response categories were "not at all informative," "somewhat informative," "quite informative," and "extremely informative." It was followed by the question "How easy or difficult to read was the story about ...?" The response categories were "very easy to read," "neither easy nor difficult to read," and "very difficult to read."

Measures of Issue Perception

For the experimental story on family farming, the initial questions concerning informativeness and reading ease were followed by a call for four estimates: "How do you personally feel about the farm issue?" (a) "Of all the farms in America, how many would you estimate are losing money? Give your answer as a percentage." The prompt was a line followed by a % sign. (b) "For those family farms that are losing money, in what percentage of the cases do you estimate the banks which helped finance the farming operation are actually to some extent responsible for the farmers' financial problems?" A % prompt was again provided. (c) "How much of the blame for the financial problems experienced by some American family farmers would you attribute to the farmers and how much would you attribute to the bankers?" Respondents answered this question on an 11-point double scale by circling a percentage combination. The upper line was labeled "Farmers' fault" and ran from 0 % in intervals of 10 to 100 %. The lower scale was labeled "Bankers' fault" and was directionally reversed. The initial choice thus was 0 % for farmers & 100 % for bankers; the second choice was 10 % for farmers & 90 % for bankers; and so forth, to the final choice of 100 % for farmers & 0 % for bankers. (d) "How much money, in millions of dollars, would you estimate American farmers in total lose each year?" The prompt line started with a $ sign and ended with "million."

Experiment 1: Results

Preliminary Analyses

Various demographic measures, along with the news report ratings of informativeness and reading ease, were subjected to 3x2x2 analyses of variance with exemplification, baserate information, and time of assessment as independent-measures factors. None of these analyses yielded significant findings, attesting to a uniform distribution of the measured characteristics across all experimental conditions. Respondent gender, as a factor, was added to the design, resulting in a 3x2x2x2 variation. Neither a main effect of gender nor interactions involving gender were observed. Gender was consequently collapsed for analysis and is not given further attention.

Issue Perception

The indicated 3x2x2 analysis of variance was performed on the four measures of issue perception.

Estimates of the relative incidence of money-losing farms. The analysis of estimates of the percentage of farmers in financial difficulty yielded a highly significant main effect of exemplification: $F(2,178) = 11.52$, $p < 0.001$. No other effect reached or approached significance. The means, shown in Table 1, formed a linear trend: $F(1,178) = 23.07$, $p < 0.001$. As can be seen from the table, exposure to the selective distribution of exemplars resulted in a gross overestimation of the percentage in question. Estimation error was the smallest after exposure to the representative distribution of exemplars. It assumed an intermediate position in the condition featuring the mixed exemplar distribution. Issue perception thus followed the ratio of suggestive exemplars in the distribution. In contrast, it was not appreciably influenced by the degree of baserate information. Of particular importance is the absence of effects concerning the time of assessment. Apparently, the influence of exemplification was stable over a two-week period.

Insert Table 1 about here

Estimates of bankers' accountability. The analysis of variance performed on this measure yielded the same pattern as that reported for farms in financial difficulty. Only the main effect of exemplification proved significant: $F(2,176) = 5.18$, $p = 0.007$. The associated means are displayed in the lower part of Table 1. As can be seen, they adhere to the same trend: $F(1,176) = 8.05$, $p = 0.005$. However, the conditions of mixed and representative exemplification form a cluster and thus prevent a well-defined linear trend.

Apportionment of blame and dollar estimates. The analysis of these measures failed to yield significant effects of any kind.

Experiment 1: Discussion

The findings on issue perception lend strong support to H_1. Consistent with earlier findings (Brosius & Bathelt, 1994; Zillmann et al., 1992), the predicted effect of featured exemplar distributions was strong. The effect of the precision of baserate information, in contrast, was nil. This outcome is anticipated by H_2. Moreover, under the assumption that (a) the issue at hand (i.e. some farmers' financial difficulties) was nonsalient to respondents and thus not associated with well-defined prior beliefs concerning the matter, and that (b) interference from news reports on the subject was negligible during the two-week delay period, H_3 can be considered supported. Perceptions created by exemplification did not regress toward prior beliefs, but persisted unchanged for two weeks. This is in contrast to, as well as in extension of, earlier research with more salient issues (Zillmann et al., 1992). Finally, the null findings concerning H_2 make H_4 inapplicable. There was no effect of baserate information that could diminish more rapidly than the effect of exemplification.

These generalizations apply to the issue in focus, i.e. the perception of failing farms. However, they may also be applied to the corresponding, secondary issue of the bankers' involvement. Given that bankers were always blamed for the plight of farmers, but praised when farmers were successful, the exemplar distribution is identical and effect expectations based on them must be parallel. The only discrepancy concerns baserate information. Imprecise baserate information stipulated that "much of the time" bankers were at fault in cases of farm failures, and precise baserate information projected fault in 70% of farm foreclosures. This is in contrast to the projection of a one-third minority for farm failures. At any rate, the findings show that such information was entirely neglected.

The analysis concerning the apportionment of blame to bankers versus farmers failed to yield reliable findings. A likely reason for this is the forced complementarity of blame. Respondents were limited to assigning blame shares that prevented blaming both parties in full or not at all. In hindsight, it would have been better to assess bankers' and farmers' fault independently.

Although the absence of effects on informativeness is consistent with earlier research (Gibson & Zillmann, 1994; Zillmann et al., 1992), it also was felt that a more inclusive assessment of readers' reactions might prove revealing. Assessment of readers' affective reactions to the differences in dramatic quality of the exemplars (struggling, defiant farmers versus triumphant, successful ones) was considered promising.

For these reasons, it was decided to replicate Experiment 1 with minor methodological adjustments.

Experiment 2: Method

Design and procedure were essentially those of Experiment 1. However, as exemplification had been observed to produce effects lasting for at least two weeks, delay of assessment was reduced to one week. In addition, the disguise story "Paying the Bill for the Party Next Door" was replaced by an analogously presented story entitled "What on Earth is a Wetland?" Similarly, the other embedding story "Keeping off Weight: the Battle with Diet Plans" was replaced by a story entitled "Carjacking on the Rise."

Measures. The questions concerning farms losing money were essentially as before: (a) "How do you personally feel about the farm issue? Specifically, of all the family farms in America, how many would you estimate are losing money? Give your answer as a percentage." (b) "How much money, in millions of dollars, would you estimate American family farms, as a whole, lose each year?"

The apportionment of blame for farm foreclosures was measured on two 11-point scales ranging from "not at all at fault" at zero to "totally at fault" at 10. The preceding questions were: (c) "How much at fault are farmers for the failure of their family farms?" and (d) "How much at fault are banks for the failure of American family farms?"

Responses to the news report were made on the same 11-point scales. The scales were labeled "not at all" at zero and "very much" at 10. The introductory question was "How did the report on family farms make you feel?" The scale prompts were: (1) "It was informative." (2) "It was upsetting." (3) "It was entertaining." (4) "It scared me." (5) "It amused me." and (6) "It worried me."

Respondents. Respondents were recruited from introductory communication classes. One-hundred-seventeen participated in both study sessions. Gender was evenly distributed throughout all experimental conditions. Respondents received class credit for participation.

Experiment 2: Results

Issue Perception

Estimates of the relative incidence of money-losing farms. Exactly as in Experiment 1, exemplification yielded a highly significant main effect: $F(2,105) = 5.16$, $p = 0.007$. Also as in Experiment 1, there were no other effects that reached or approached significance. The means, shown in Table 2, form the same linear trend: $F(1,105) = 9.35$; $p = 0.003$. As can be seen from the tables, the pattern of means observed in Experiment 2 closely follows that observed in Experiment 1.

Insert Table 2 about here

Estimates of farmers' versus bankers' accountability. Again as in Experiment 1, a significant main effect, as the only significant effect, emerged for the perception of bankers at fault: $F(2,105) = 5.98$, $p = 0.004$. The means, displayed in Table 2, adhered to a linear trend: $F(1,105) = 11.14$, $p = 0.001$.

With the direction of means predictably reversed, the analysis of variance of the perception of farmers at fault yielded the same pattern. The only significant effect was the main effect of exemplification: $F(2,105) = 5.21$, $p = 0.007$. The associated trend was $F(1,105) = 9.83$, $p = 0.002$. The means of this effect are shown in Table 2.

The correlation between bankers' and farmers' fault was -0.40, $p = 0.08$, indicating that the measure of complementary apportionment of blame, as used in Experiment 1, was indeed inappropriate.

Dollar estimates. The analysis of estimates of $ amounts annually lost by family farmers again failed to yield reliable results. Respondents seemed overwhelmed by the assignment and resorted to guessing. It should be recognized that $ amounts were not part of exemplification, and that the failure to obtain meaningful findings on this measure is thus immaterial for the evaluation of the effects of exemplification.

Reactions to the News Report

Analysis of the ratings on individual scales yielded significant main effects of exemplification, as the only significant effects, for "was upsetting," "scared me," and "worried me:" $F(2,105) = 3.72$, $p = 0.03$; $F = 4.63$, $p = 0.01$; and $F = 3.87$, $p = 0.02$, respectively. The associated means are shown in Table 3. The analysis of "informative," "entertaining," and "amused me," in contrast, failed to yield significant results.

A principal component analysis, followed by orthogonal rotation, produced two factors. The three distress-related scales formed Factor 1, labeled Distress, with loadings above 0.70. The second factor showed such loadings only for the "amused me" scale. The distress-related ratings were averaged for a Distress composite (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.75$). The composite was also subjected to analysis of variance. Predictably, the only significant effect was the main effect of exemplification: $F(2,105) = 6.32$, $p = 0.003$. The associated linear trend was $F(1,105) = 12.59$, $p < 0.001$. The means are displayed in the bottom line of Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

Experiment 2: Discussion

The findings replicate and extend those of Experiment 1.

Regarding issue perception, the pattern of effects is entirely consistent with that reported for the initial investigation. The support of hypotheses thus is identical with that specified in the discussion of Experiment 1. Additionally, however, the findings of Experiment 2 clarify the earlier failure of the assessment of bankers' versus farmers' fault in the farmers' financial difficulties. In such assessment, the use of scales that specify fault as complementary (i.e. summing to a constant total) is inadvisable.

Moreover, the findings of Experiment 2 extend the earlier findings by showing that the selective use of exemplars of suffering persons--farmers in our case--is capable of creating a degree of distress in readers which significantly exceeds that created by representative exemplification.

General Discussion

The findings of the present investigation corroborate earlier demonstrations of the comparatively strong effect of exemplar distributions on issue perception. They also underscore the surprisingly weak or negligible effect of abstract and pallid, although potentially more reliable, baserate information. News consumers, then, appear to base their assessment of social reality more strongly on exemplification of individual cases in a population of events than on general descriptions of properties of that population.

More importantly, the present findings extend earlier demonstrations by showing that the effects of exemplification can be stable over at least a two-week period. In combination with the earlier research, the findings concerning the duration of effects are consistent with the proposal that effects of exemplification (a) tend to be prolonged if an issue is not associated with well-defined prior beliefs, but (b), in case well-defined prior beliefs exist, tend to regress rather quickly back to these prior beliefs. Needless to say, much of the time course of message-related perceptions of social reality remains unknown and invites exploration.

The implications of these findings for journalism education are two-fold: First, news writers must be made aware of the implications of exemplification, especially of those concerning selective, distorting exemplification. Cognizance of glaringly inappropriate exemplification should correct the practice of highly selective exemplification to some degree. Second, news writers must be appraised of the fact that pallid general information is likely to fail as a corrective for distorting exemplification. Efforts must be directed at presenting much needed baserate information more compellingly than is commonly done.

Table 1

Experiment 1: Estimates of the Relative Incidence of Failing Family Farms and Bankers' Responsibility as a Function of Exemplification

Percentage	Exemplification		
	Selective	Mixed	Representative
Failing farms	68.85^a	60.87^b	54.00^c
Bankers' fault	59.00^a	47.02^b	46.96^b

Note. Selective refers to an exemplar distribution that is entirely consistent with the minority of cases that define the focal point of a news story. Representative refers to an exemplar distribution that correctly represents the proportions of minority and majority cases in the population. Mixed refers to an exemplar distribution that addresses both minority and majority cases, but does so in a somewhat selective, nonrepresentative fashion.

Means associated with different letter superscripts differ significantly at $p < 0.05$ by Newman-Keuls test. Comparisons are within measures only.

Table 2

Experiment 2: Estimates of the Relative Incidence of Failing Family Farms and Ratings of Bankers' Versus Farmers' Fault as a Function of Exemplification

Measure	Exemplification		
	Selective	Mixed	Representative
Failing farms	65.92^a	55.67^b	52.71^b
Bankers' fault	6.88^a	5.77^b	5.32^b
Farmers' fault	3.10^b	4.08^a	4.47^a

Note. Estimates of failing farms are in percent. Ratings are on scales ranging from zero to 10.

The concepts *selective*, *mixed*, and *representative* are defined in the legend to Table 1.

Means associated with different letter superscripts differ significantly at $p < 0.05$ by Newman-Keuls test. Comparisons are within measures only.

Table 3

Experiment 2: Ratings of Affective Reactions to the News Report as a Function of Exemplification

Measure	Exemplification		
	Selective	Mixed	Representative
It was upsetting	6.68^{a}	6.10^{ab}	5.18^{b}
It scared me	3.85^{a}	3.00^{ab}	2.00^{b}
It worried me	6.40^{a}	5.64^{ab}	4.66^{b}
Distress factor	5.64^{a}	4.92^{a}	3.95^{b}

Note. Ratings are on scales ranging from zero to 10. Distress is the composite of the individual scales.

The concepts selective, mixed, and representative are defined in the legend to Table 1.

Means not sharing a letter superscript differ significantly at $p < 0.05$ by Newman-Keuls test. Comparisons are within measures only.

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Economic coverage of China before and after the Cold War in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*

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Economic coverage of China before and after the Cold War in Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report

Abstract

Comparing coverage of China in three U.S. news magazines during the 1985-1988 period and the 1990-1993 period, this research found mixed results about whether those magazines were guided by the nation's foreign policy makers, which is a pattern revealed by previous studies. Only Newsweek shifted attention to China's economic development from political affairs as China moved from being a U.S. political bargaining chip to being a major trading partner after the Cold War faded. Time went in the opposite direction of Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report showed a small decline in the business coverage.

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Economic coverage of China before and after the Cold War in Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report

Since 1978, China, led by political leader Deng Xiaoping, has carried out a series of economic reforms to enhance China's international presence.(1) As of 1993, China's gross domestic product (GDP) increased more than 13 percent, the highest growth in the world, while industrialized countries were caught in economic recession. More significantly, the annual GDP growth created by Guangdong province, one of China's designated economic zones, hit as much as 30 percent.(2)

Furthermore, the country has accumulated US$45 billion in foreign exchange reserves due to increasing exports. In 1993, outbound shipments from China increased to US$91.8 billion from US$85 billion in the previous year.(3)

Boasting the largest consumer market, with a population of 1.2 billion in the world, China has attracted many multinational business giants to set up joint ventures with Chinese counterparts. Those foreign businesses have also been drooling over China's cheap labor force and rich natural resources, and their contracted investment amount in China totaled US$110.9 billion last year.(3)

Now, China ranks as the third largest economy in the world. By the year 2010, it will become the largest.(4) The country has polished its economic image on the international stage.

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Background of China-U.S. Ties

Nixon's dramatic visit to China in 1972 is considered the starting point of a new relationship between China and the United States politically and economically. China's open-door policy also accelerated the pace of building bilateral ties.

On the political side, China and the former Soviet Union suffered frictions especially after China challenged Soviet-backed Vietnam in the 1970s. Consequently, Moscow threatened Beijing by building up military along its southern border with China. The split between China and the former Soviet Union prompted the United States and China to share a common goal -- preventing the Soviet Union's expansion in East Asia.(6) The balance of power had been favorable to the United States against the former Soviet bloc. The so-called "China card," held by the United States, dominated U.S. China policy as well as its diplomatic strategy during the Cold War era.

Since the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Eastern bloc has made China no longer a political bargaining chip of the United States. However, the economic relationship between Washington and Beijing has become more important than ever.

In 1993, American investors channeled an estimated US$14 billion into China, almost double the amount in the previous year, making the United States the third largest foreign investor in China.(2) Furthermore, two-way trade between China and the United States reached about US$40.3 billion last year, up as much

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as 21 percent from 1992.(3) The United States has become China's third largest trading partner.

China is expected to spend some US$560 billion on its infrastructure projects by the end of this century, promising thousands of jobs in the United States if Americans win contracts.(7) U.S. business has spread a favorable view of doing business with China, regarding it as necessary and a "fundamental part of their business strategy."(2)

Business and foreign policy

American business has played an important role in the U.S. foreign policy making process.(8) Bauer, Pool and Dexter claim that the history of foreign policy has been written largely from the viewpoints of competing interest groups. Business people tend to pay more attention to the foreign policy, in particular, the foreign trade policy, than ordinary citizens because the foreign policy often directly affects the business circle. Those business people have a tendency to seek and protect their self-interest. In the U.S. tradition, the way to get things done is to "get in touch with your congressman." (8)

After the Tiananmen massacre in 1989, China's most-favored nation (MFN) status stirred serious debates here. In Bush's era, Max Baucus, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade, exerted his influence to maintain 34 votes which were needed to preserve the privileges for China. (9) Last year, before President Bill Clinton, who has been unhappy with China's

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human rights record, threatened to terminate the trade status. Many business groups including the Washington-based U.S.-China Business Council urged the Clinton Administration to extend the trade treatment unconditionally.(4) Clinton nodded. This year, under greater pressure, the President delinked the use of the MFN status to the Chinese human rights performance, and announced his intent to maintain the preferential treatment.(10)

Business and Media

Businessmen also tend to speak out for themselves by making contacts with the press. Bauer, Pool and Dexter note that business groups have ties with newspapers, magazines and other news media to set up channels to voice their opinions.(8) Graber argues that no matter what size of news organizations journalists work in, the journalists are interested in appealing to their audiences based on the financial consideration. So, their stories usually reflect the value of some dominant interest groups, regardless of the journalists' personal political orientation.(11) Money talks.

Media and Foreign Policy

Chang notes that U.S. foreign policy makers have affected the news media's coverage of foreign policy, but not vice versa.(12) Chang argues that the press encounters structural constraints when it reports the nation's foreign policy, so foreign policy makers control the news coverage. The limitations include the presidential control of foreign policy initiative, the media's reliance on government information and secrecy in the foreign policy making procedure.

Chang also argues that in terms of news sources, the U.S. executive branch, dominates the access to the news media as the media cover the country's foreign policy.(13) Graber notes that most of time, the news media hold favorable attitudes toward their political leaders and the political system, although sometimes the media try to dig out political scandals.(11) Chang also points out that the press coverage is reflective of the national interests.(14)

These studies indicate that the U.S. newspapers' coverage of the foreign policy is guided by the nation's policy makers. For the foreign policy makers, the influence of interest groups cannot be ignored during the foreign policy making process. For the U.S. news media, business groups are very influential. To the United States as a whole, China's economy has become more important than its politics after the Cold War ended. Therefore, coverage of the U.S. media is supposed to be led by the new emphasis on the China's strong economic showing.

Expectation of This Study

Since 1989, the former Soviet bloc has experienced tremendous political changes. The end of the Cold War led the United States to hammer out a new strategy to fit the current political situation. Now, China serves the United States in a

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different way.

Chang's studies on the U.S. media coverage about the government's foreign policy focused on newspapers, explaining how elite newspapers covered the U.S. China policy under different circumstances. This study chose Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report because the three news magazines enjoy good international reputations and high circulations worldwide.(15) The author expected that the three U.S. news magazines have followed a pattern found in Chang's studies, so their coverage would be guided by foreign policy makers to mirror the international economic reality as the role played by China in the U.S. foreign policy has changed in the post Cold War era. In other words, it was expected that coverage about China's economy in the three news magazines had increased but reports concerning Chinese politics had declined after the end of the Cold War.

Method

The research content analyzed and compared coverage of the three magazines about China in two time periods, 1985-1988 and 1990-1993, to find any possible changes in the news emphasis.

Using Reader's Guide, 137 reports during the 1985-1988 period and 160 stories from 1990 through 1993 were identified from Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report. Reports printed in 1989 were excluded because media's attention to events surrounding the Tiananmen protest and repression, which occurred in 1989, would skew the study. Furthermore, 1989 was the year when the world started facing the rapid political changes between the Eastern and Western alliances. Thus, 1989 was used as the dividing year between the pre- and post-Cold War periods.

The sample for this study represents 50 percent of all articles on China listed in Reader's Guide for each period: 67 items from the 1985-1988 period and 79 from the 1990-1993 period. Articles from Time represented 36.3 percent, articles from Newsweek made up 33.6 percent and articles from U.S. News & World Report accounted for 30.1 percent of the total sample.

Each article was content analyzed to determine the amount of space devoted to political, social and cultural issues as opposed to economic and business issues in the period prior to and following the dissolution of the Soviet bloc and related events. The unit of analysis for each article was the sentence. Headlines, photographs, captions and other graphic displays were not coded. Each article was coded for number of sentences falling into the following categories:

1. **Business sentences** which involved economic reforms, economic growth, trade, investment, major construction projects, manufacturing, purchasing power, stock market, real estate, currency (fluctuations of Chinese renminbi), inflation or overheated economy, government regulations and so on;
2. **Non-business sentences** which involved political, defense, human rights, social and cultural issues and so on;
3. **Sentences containing both concepts or more**: business and political concepts/ business and defense concepts/

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business and human rights concepts/ business and social issues/ business and cultural issues and so on;

4. **Other** which was beyond the definitions of business and non-business categories noted above, for instance, natural disasters (See Appendix 1).

Intercoder reliability for this study was established at 90 percent. The content analysis categories were tested by three graduate students in journalism and education, including the author, who coded 10 articles. For this study, all articles in the sample were coded by the author. Level of significance was set at the .05 level.

Findings

During the 1985-1988 study period, articles from Time contained 490 business sentences; 714 non-business sentences concerning political, defense, human rights, social and cultural issues, and 185 sentences containing both business and non-business concepts. One hundred and twenty two sentences in Newsweek articles referred to business, 586 were devoted to non-business issues and 103 sentences contained both business and non-business concepts. Articles from U.S. News & World Report included 271 business sentences, 249 non-business sentences and 144 sentences contained both concepts.

Between 1990 and 1993, business sentences in Time totaled 66, non-business sentences hit 382, and 85 sentences in the magazine contained both business and non-business concepts. In

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Newsweek, 297 sentences contained business issues; 266 referred to political, military, social and cultural areas; and 116 sentences contained both business and non-business concepts. U.S. News & World Report during the same period had 374 business sentences, 462 non-business sentences and 117 sentences containing both concepts (See Appendix 2, Table 1).

Comparing the two study periods, a ratio of business sentences to the total coverage of China in the three news magazines increased to 31.9 percent in the 1990-1993 period from 28.9 percent in the 1985-1988 period. A ratio of non-business to the total coverage dropped to 49.8 percent in the 1990-1993 period from 50.8 percent in the previous period. However, these results were not statistically significant (See Appendix 3, Table 2).

As for individual magazines, the results varied. The percentage of business sentences in Newsweek increased to 43.7 percent in the post Cold War era from 14.7 percent before the Cold War faded. Political, military, social and cultural issues made up 39.2 percent of the Newsweek total coverage after the Cold War, plunging from 70.6 percent during the Cold War (See Appendix 4, Table 3). The findings were statistically significant, indicating that the magazine shifted its attention to China's economic issues from political and social issues after the Cold War. The change was reflective of the role played by China in the U.S. foreign policy: no longer a "China card" against the former Soviet Union but an emerging consumer market

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for U.S. businesses.

For Time, a change of the coverage in China's business and non-business issues went in the opposite direction of Newsweek (See Appendix 5, Table 4). In spite of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the dissolution of the Eastern communist bloc and the increased importance of China's economic status, Time's coverage about China's political, human rights, social and cultural aspects rose to 61.3 percent after the Cold War from 46.5 percent during the Cold War. Its business coverage dropped to 10.6 percent in the post Cold War era from 31.9 percent in the Cold War era. The cross-table comparison was statistically significant.

Changes in U.S. News & World Report's coverage about China's business issues were also statistically significant (See Appendix 6, Table 5). A switch in the business coverage in this magazine was small, however. The percentage of business coverage after the Cold War was down to 37.5 percent from 39.7 percent in the Cold War era while its non-business coverage percentage increased to 49.9 percent during the 1990-1993 period from 36.4 percent during the 1985-1988 period.

Conclusion

Based on results of the three news magazines as a group, business coverage about China during the post Cold War era by percentage increased slightly while the proportion in coverage concerning political, human rights and other social issues decreased. But, these differences do not support the expectation that China's economic achievements or importance caused the magazines to change their emphasis.

Newsweek is the only one of the three magazines to follow a coverage pattern revealed by previous studies which indicate that the news media are led by the nation's foreign policy and reflect U.S. interests. During the 1990-1993 period, Newsweek devoted considerable coverage to Beijing's economic regulations, such as privatization and foreign investments. Moreover, the information was mainly related to China-U.S. bilateral business ties rather than just China itself. The result is also reflective of what Chang and Graber found earlier: the U.S. news media primarily cover the most important countries and keep America's national interests in mind, as they report foreign policy.

Newsweek had a couple of reports about the upcoming Beijing authorities' takeover of Hong Kong in 1997. For foreign investors, Hong Kong has been a base to extend their footholds to other Asian countries, especially China. That is the reason why the U.S. magazine cared about the future of the Oriental Pearl.

The main reason for the small changes in the overall coverage of the three magazines was a significant drop in Time's business coverage and a rise in its political coverage after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. Actually, Time has long held an anti-communist attitude regarding China.

Henry Luce, Time's founder, who died in 1966, spent his childhood in China and maintained strong connections with China,

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especially with Chiang Kai-shek of the Nationalist Government. The *Time* publisher could not accept the fact that Chiang's Nationalist Government lost to Chinese Communists in the 1949 civil war. He supported Chiang's government and considered China Chiang's, even though the Nationalist Government moved to Taiwan. As David Halberstam wrote, in a sense, Luce was already the Nationalist ambassador to America.(16)

This historic linkage may help explain why *Time* paid more attention to the political situation in China, triggered by the failed democracy movement in 1989. In the 1990-1993 period, *Time* devoted 61.3 percent of its coverage about China to Chinese political, human rights, social and cultural issues and downplayed China's economic performance. After the Tiananmen tragedy, *Time* devoted extensive coverage to democratic movement leaders in exile.

U.S. News & World Report is a business-oriented news magazine. Before the Cold War ended, *U.S. News & World Report* devoted a larger proportion of coverage to China's economy than the other two news magazines. The ratio of business sentences to total coverage reached 39.7 percent. In addition, the 39.7 percent in the business coverage percentage was higher than a ratio of the magazine's non-business coverage in that period. The business coverage ratio, however, dropped in the 1990-1993 study period. A ten-page cover story in the March 12, 1990 issue referred to the aftermath of the Tiananmen killing, and its large political coverage boosted the amount of non-business sentences

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in the 1990-1993 samples.

The research also found that Time offered boarder coverage than the other magazines. Between 1990 and 1993, 14.5 percent of Time's coverage about China went to the "Other" category while zero percent of Newsweek's coverage and U.S. News & World Report's coverage was coded in this category. Apart from business, political, social and cultural issues, Time covered the exploration in the Himalaya mountains, the Chinese space program, an earthquake and book reviews.

The mixed results of the study show that coverage was probably affected by Time's negative attitude toward Chinese Communists. As a result, overall coverage about China in the three U.S. news magazines didn't support a pattern revealed by previous studies: that the news media were guided by the nation's foreign policy. However, Newsweek has met the author's expectation that the news magazine increased its' coverage of China's economic issues after the nation's China policy took a turn in the post Cold War era. Future studies may use the same method to examine possible differences of coverage in the news magazines about Vietnam, South Africa and the former Soviet bloc after political tensions there have been relaxed and business opportunities have replaced political concerns.

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Appendix 1

Coding Sheet

1. Case number ___ ___ ___ 01-03

2. Title of magazine ___ 04
   1=Time
   2=Newsweek
   3=U.S. News & World Report

3. Year ___ ___ 05-06
   85=1985 90=1990
   86=1986 91=1991
   87=1987 92=1992
   88=1988 93=1993

4. Number of sentences involving ___ ___ ___ 07-09

   a. Business
   including economic reforms, economic growth, trade, investment, currency, inflation, stock market, government regulations

   b. Non-business ___ ___ ___ 10-12
   including politics, defense, human rights social and cultural issues

   c. Sentences containing both business and politics/business and defense/ business and human rights/business and social issues/business and culture ___ ___ ___ 13-15

   d. Other ______________________ ___ ___ ___ 16-18

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Appendix 2

Table 1

Business, non-business, both business and non-business sentences and other in the two periods

	Time		Newsweek		U.S. News & World Report		Total	
	1985-1988	1990-1993	1985-1988	1990-1993	1985-1988	1990-1993	1985-1988	1990-1993
Biz	490	66	122	297	271	347	883	710
Non-biz	714	382	586	266	249	462	1549	1110
Both	185	85	103	116	144	117	432	318
Other	145	90	19	0	19	0	183	90

Biz = business sentences
Non-biz = non-business sentences

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Appendix 3

Table 2

Overall coverage of China (business and non-business only)

Coverage\years	*1985-1988	1990-1993
Business	883 (28.9%)	710 (31.9%)
Non-business	1549 (50.8%)	1110 (49.8%)

Not statistically significant

*During the 1985-1888 period, sentences containing both business and non-business concepts, and the "Other" category made up 20.3 percent of the total coverage. Between 1990 and 1993, the two categories took 18.3 percent of the total coverage.

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Appendix 4

Table 3

Newsweek coverage of China (business and non-business sentences only)

Coverage\years	1985-1988	1990-1993
Business	122 (14.7%)	297 (43.7%)
Non-business	586 (70.6%)	266 (39.2%)

*$X^2 = 179.07$, df = 1, $p<.001$

**During the 1985-1988 period, sentences containing both business and non-business concepts, and the "Other" category accounted for 14.7 percent of _Newsweek_'s coverage. Between 1990 and 1993, the two categories made up 17.1 percent of the coverage.

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Appendix 5

Table 4

Time coverage of China (business and non-business only)

Coverage\years	1985-1988	1990-1993
Business	490 (31.9%)	66 (10.6%)
Non-business	714 (46.5%)	382 (61.3%)

*$X^2 = 98.59$, df = 1, $p<.001$

**During the 1985-1988 period, sentences containing both business and non-business concepts, and the "Other" category accounted for 22.6 percent of Time's coverage. Between 1990 and 1993, the two categories represented 28.1 percent of the coverage.

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Appendix 6

Table 5

U.S. News & World Report coverage of China (business and non-business sentences only)

Coverage\years	1985-1988	1990-1993
Business	271 (39.7%)	347 (37.5%)
Non-business	249 (36.5%)	462 (49.9%)

*X^2=10.82, df=1, p<.01

**During the 1985-1988 period, sentences containing both business and non-business concepts, and the "Other" category made up 23.8 percent of U.S. News & World Report's coverage. Between 1990 and 1993, the two categories accounted for 12.6 percent of the coverage.

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Notes:

1. "The New China," Newsweek, Feb. 4, 1979, pp. 32-43.

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3. "China Data", The China Business Review, May-June 1994, pp. 58-59.

4. Donald M. Anderson, "China Policy: Fostering U.S. Competitiveness and the Bilateral Relationship," The China Business Review, January-February 1993, pp. 10-15.

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11. Doris A. Graber, Politics, Mass Media and American Politics, (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 3rd. ed. 1989)

12. Tsan-Kuo Chang, "The Impact of Presidential Statements on Press Editorials Regarding U.S. China Policy, 1950-1984," Communication Research, August 1989, pp. 486-509.

13. Tsan-Kuo Chang, Access to the News and Foreign Policy: The Case of China, 1950-1984, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Speech Communication Association (73rd, Boston, MA, Nov. 5-8, 1987).

14. Tsan-Kuo Chang, "How Three Elite Papers Covered Reagan China Policy," Journalism Quarterly, 1984, pp. 429-432.

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15. According to 1993-1994 Ulrich's International Periodical Dictionary, circulation of Time reached 4,159,533, Newsweek, 3,100,000 and U.S. News & World Report, 2,351,313.

16. David Halberstam, The Powers That Be, (New York: Altered A. Knoff, 1st ed., 1979).

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THE INFORMATION SOCIETY UNDER CONSTRUCTION:

RETAIL CREDIT AND THE MYTHOS OF TECHNOLOGY

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THE INFORMATION SOCIETY UNDER CONSTRUCTION:

RETAIL CREDIT AND THE MYTHOS OF TECHNOLOGY

ABSTRACT

With the spread of retail credit early in this century, personal information became incorporated into ordinary exchange transactions, and thereby disrupted the social relations between individuals and their local merchants. The paper shows how the social issues raised by credit were sorted out in popular culture. By working to make credit seem socially proper and morally useful, popular discourse in mass circulation magazines not only eased the acceptance of credit reporting, but also contributed to the ideological outlook of "the information society" -- an outlook which rationalizes knowledge based on record-keeping and surveillance of everyday activities.

Credit is as injurious to many people as "spirituous liquors" are to others. Again there are many so rash and improvident that they require restraint, in this respect, as much as infants, or madmen, or natural fools.

-- English political pamphlett (Rosser, 1834)

The modern individual has always had potential credit. It varied in degree with different persons, but there was no man who could not be trusted at least for a loaf of bread and a pork chop. Modern industry gathered up the nation's potential credit, labeled it, dramatized it, systematized it, and now it is a legitimate tool of commerce.

-- Collier's, June 16, 1928

Retail credit spread rapidly through the U.S. economy in the early decades of the twentieth century. Retail credit introduced personal information into ordinary exchange transactions and thereby disrupted the social, as well as the economic, arrangements between individuals and their local suppliers of food, clothing, household goods, and services. It is my intent to show how the social issues raised by the innovation of credit were sorted out in the popular culture of the era. By working to make credit seem socially proper and morally useful, popular discourse not only eased the acceptance of credit but of surveillance technology in general, and thus contributed to the ideological outlook of "the information society."

The literature on the information society is large and growing and cannot be reviewed here adequately (see Salvaggio, 1989). One perspective focuses on the structural aspects of "informatization" (Dizard, 1984: Bell, 1973). Machlup's (1962) and Porat's (1977) influential studies examined the importance of information activities to the economy. Beniger (1986), who sees the application of information as the driving force behind industrialization, pushed the roots of the information society into the early nineteenth century. Yet this vein of research tells us little about how information activities were received culturally, little about how individuals responded to being converted into information, and little about how information activities may have been shaped to address the misapprehension and fear they engendered.

Another perspective on the information society, advanced by Mosco and Wasko (1988), Robins and Webster (1988), Salvaggio (1983), Schiller (1981) and others, sees informatization in terms of continuing class conflict. Gandy (1993) describes the operation of a "panoptic sort" in contemporary Western societies which uses personal information to sort individuals according to their presumed economic and political value. A major concern within this approach is the systematic invasion of private areas by large organizations and the state. According to opinion polls, these generic concerns are shared by the public (Katz & Tassone, 1990), but the public continues to cooperate with information gathering activities nevertheless. As Rule (1980) notes, Americans object to having their privacy invaded, but they also demand that organizations differentiate among them as individuals. Differentiation requires information. In an information society, privacy is traded against other desired social benefits in a series of cultural negotiations.

By retail credit I mean the idea of acquiring consumer goods on the promise to pay and the conventions used in these transactions, including techniques for reducing their inherent uncertainty. Although retail credit arrived well after quantification had been established in many spheres of human activity (Porter, 1986; Boorstin, 1973), it was the moment in which individuals were quantified as consumers, an identity they exercised daily. Credit records produced a parallel, transportable self that could be known and acted upon even when the "real" self was distant in time and space. Thus credit not only set the stage for broadcasting, modern advertising, and marketing, but it was a highly salient event. It was, in fact, noticed and commented upon as an intimation of a more general transition to a society organized around information. This popular discourse "worked through" the many social issues raised by credit until they became ideology -- what James Carey (1988) has called "the natural attitude, practical consciousness, or, less grandly, common sense" (p.288).

As Marvin (1988) has observed, new communication technologies frequently disrupt social relationships. They "may change the perceived effectiveness of one group's surveillance of another, the permissible familiarity of exchange, the frequency and intensity of contact, and the efficacy of customary tests for truth and deception" (p.5). Retail credit did alter social distances in two fundamental, if ambiguous, ways. First, credit appeared to submit traditional Victorian virtues such as character, reputation, and trustworthiness to quantification and, hence, authentication. In the process it threw into doubt previous knowledges about social identity, and diminished the prerogative of the gentry in certain economic contexts; "character" could be had by anyone who maintained a good credit record. Second, credit reporting institutionalized a deeply embedded system for monitoring the economic behavior of the new middle class by the business elite, which suggested that the middle class were somehow suspect. This implication grated against the democratic vision of the decent common man.

The paradoxical forces of retail credit -- its democratizing impulse on the one hand, and its authoritarian aspect on the other -- corresponded to contradictory desires within the American imagination. Retail credit both promised to free individuals to pursue material comfort, while it also pledged to root out societal misfits and troublemakers. The credit system was thus described by mass circulation magazines with echoes of the utopian optimism once directed toward electricity, and before that, mechanization. Like those earlier technological marvels, information would unite these opposed impulses and serve as the vehicle of material and moral progress. This was the "mythos of technology" that Carey and Quirk (1988) blame for obscuring the "real" impacts of technology, which become apparent once the great moral hopes go unfulfilled. Accordingly, few Americans of the early twentieth century noted publicly that retail credit practices were increasing social control by faceless bureaucracies.

The contradictions of retail credit were made harmonious in popular media by drawing upon existing discourses about ethos and trust. By using familiar rhetorics to frame credit's social effects, mass magazines assured readers that credit information would not restructure relationships or uncover new truths, but that it would reinforce existing relationships and certify established truths using more efficient, "modern" techniques.

A rhetoric of ethos addressed the democratizing aspects of retail credit, which engendered both enthusiasm and trepidation. For those who welcomed democracy, information promised to measure men and women with pure objectivity, reporting the essential goodness of the average American's "character" with scientific detachment. For others concerned that credit would challenge the privileges of birth, credit information was dismissed as an inferior substitute for human intuition and insight, or it was said to confirm what had been known all along -- that certain well-born individuals had "character," and that others did not.

A rhetoric of trust shaped the discourse surrounding the authoritarian aspects of retail credit. Although most magazine depictions of credit were set in large urban centers, they relied on imagery of 19th century small-town society in which neighbors knew one another to be hard-working and moral. Headlines declared that credit "worked" because the vast majority of Americans were as honest as the day was long. These reassurances helped consumers overcome their reluctance, rooted in strong norms of privacy and propriety, to reveal themselves to strangers. Surveillance cannot harm you if you have nothing to hide. Rather, these same magazines suggested, surveillance is beneficial because it disciplines the deviant others -- such as immigrants, the arrogant rich, and young, single women of uncertain reputation -- who harm society by abusing credit.

Popular discourse about consumer credit should not be read as pro-business propaganda. The record is too ambiguous and incomplete. Popular discourse instead records the somewhat more spontaneous emergence of ideology built of the various impulses circulating in society at large, as Spigel (1992) shows in her examination of television, and Marvin (1988) in her study of the telephone. Discussions of retail credit became ways of addressing, however implicitly, the social transformations caused by immigration, urbanization, women's suffrage, the rise of a consumer culture, and the growth of "knowledge industries" (Shils, 1975) such as the social sciences and market research. Finally, popular media should not be read as evidence of what ordinary people thought about new technologies. Rather, they merely begin to reveal what Spigel terms the "discursive conventions" formed for thinking about innovations. Popular magazines showed people how they might perceive and respond to retail credit, but the reactions of real individuals can only be inferred from this evidence.

The data used in this study are the stories about retail credit appearing in mass circulation magazines primarily between the years 1910-1930. The material was identified using the Readers Guide to Periodical Literature. Few relevant citations appeared either before or after these dates. It may be that the Depression took the bloom off credit purchasing, and for a while the use of credit once again became symbolic of trouble rather than social rank. Among the most common sources of stories about retail credit were The Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, American Magazine, and System, the precursor to Business Week. Harper's Weekly, Ladies Home Journal, Sunset Magazine, Survey, The World's Work, and other magazines are also cited or were consulted. Additional material, including credit industry publications, was also examined.

Before describing how popular culture provided a site for articulating an ideology of information, the spread of retail credit is reviewed briefly in historical terms.

RETAIL CREDIT AND THE MODERN ECONOMY

CREDIT AND COMMERCE

Retail credit began to spread in the last quarter of the ninteenth century but did not become a significant part of the U.S. economy until the early twentieth century (Klein, 1971). Retail credit was preceded by commercial credit, a system through which manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers managed trade amongst themselves. In the years immediately following independence, merchants generally traded with people they knew.

With the construction of canals and railroads, however, trade began to take place between distant strangers, and industrialization increased the flow of goods from manufacturers to wholesalers. Beniger (1986) lists credit as one of the many "control technologies" that kept this expanding production system from breaking down by severing the exchange of goods from the simultaneous exchange of payment.

The availability of credit at the retail level lagged behind the commercial system. Since the colonial era, credit for individuals had been available in isolated sectors of the economy. In rural areas, seeds, farm equipment and household goods were frequently sold for promissory notes payable after the harvest, and undertakers in small towns provided funerals on credit when death arrived unexpectedly. A few companies, such as the Singer Sewing Machine Company, grew exponentially in the last half of the nineteenth century based on credit sales (Mandell, 1990). But the general adoption of retail credit was related to the economic boom that followed World War I, when per capita income began an unprecedented upward trend (Klein, 1971). Consumer credit spread concurrently with new forms of urban retailing, including department stores, grocery chains, discount stores, variety and drug stores, franchises, and the formulation of the first national advertising campaigns (Bryant & Dethloff, 1990). These events all conspired to place an array of new and expensive goods before the public for which credit, like advertising, stimulated interest.

By 1920, food, clothing, furniture and appliances could all be purchased on credit. In 1924, a "credit man" told The New York Times that more than 3,500,000 credit accounts were on the books of New York City stores, and some larger establishments had up to 200,000 active accounts. Some clothing stores reported up to 85 percent of their transactions as credit ("Forward the charge account," 1924). Calls soon came for a federally funded study of nationwide consumer credit patterns. According to Literary Digest, the investigation "isn't desired because of any feeling of nervousness or alarm, but just because the facts are wanted and nobody has ever dug up the facts"("To investigate the charge account," 1928). A 1933 Department of Commerce study summarized by Business Week showed that "professionals" (dentists, doctors, undertakers and landlords) did 90 percent of their business on credit, compared with 54 percent for retailers ("The sequel to 'Charge it,'" 1935). As early as 1925, 75 percent of all cars were sold on installment plans (Michelman, 1966). In the depths of the Depression, President Roosevelt was said to have met with auto industry executives out of concern that lenient terms were giving undue encouragement to buyers (Hardy, 1938).

As the idea of retail credit spread its technologies evolved. Installment plans were popular with business in part because they required customers to return to the point of purchase to deliver their weekly or monthly payments. In the 1920s, department stores, following the lead of oil companies, issued "charga-plates" for use in identifying preferred customers and for creating bills and records. By the end of the decade, department stores within a city were cooperating to honor the credit of the customers of rival stores. However, the first third-party card, Diner's Club, was not issued until 1949 ("Report of the proceedings...," 1934; Mandell, 1990).

THE SPREAD OF CREDIT REPORTING

The growing use of credit was followed by a search for better means of limiting credit risk. Credit reporting was a technological innovation in the sense Beniger (1986) describes paper records, filing systems, and the Pennsylvania Railroad as technological innovations: they are all organized structures for controlling flows of information. With better information, some credit failures might be avoided. In 1841, the abolitionist Lewis Tappan organized the first commercial credit reporting agency, which eventually became Dun & Bradstreet (Hayes & Miller, 1994; Madison, 1974). Tappan recruited correspondents across the country to send in reports to his New York office, where they were recorded into ledgers and read aloud to visiting subscribers. The reports included information about the businessman's occupation and assets, marital status, family and ethnic background, age, former residence, and business experience. According the Madison, "Many reports also included comments on personal character, with instances or allegations of dishonesty, slothfulness, drunkenness or immorality receiving close attention" (p.167).

By 1870, Tappan's agency had 28 branch offices, records on 400,000 businessmen, and a number of competitors. Full-time, paid reporters had replaced part-timers, and data collection had become direct, systematic and active. After a series of important court decisions limited the liability of agencies for damages suffered as a result of their activities, trade associations and the National Association of Credit Men also entered the credit reporting business. These organizations established bureaus and facilitated trade of information among members, thereby bypassing the centralized, commercial services.

According to one account, the first retail credit reporting agency was founded in 1869 in Brooklyn. A group of Baltimore merchants started the first cooperatively owned agency, the Union Credit Reporting Company, in 1880, and others were soon started in other urban centers. Yet in some cities, entrepreneurs hoping to start for-profit credit reporting agencies faced an uphill battle. In Atlanta, for example, many merchants were apparently reluctant to share information about customers with competitors. The National Association of Retail Credit Men was formed in 1896 and distinguished retail credit reporting as a profession distinct from commercial credit reporting (Flinn, 1959).

Retail credit reporting agencies were not just an urban development, but were embedded in the structure of many rural communities. In the state of Kansas in 1927, for example, there were 28 city bureaus, 25 county bureaus, and one regional bureau.

Most of these were organized after 1910. Four bureaus were located in towns of less than 2,000 population. Some were privately owned, some operated by the chamber of commerce, and some run cooperatively by groups of merchants. While retailers by far were the largest group of members, professionals, banks, and building and loan associations were also members. Many of the associations had continuing programs for recruiting new members (Blocker, 1927).

Kansas merchants used standardized forms to report a customer's name, address, marital status, occupation and employer, bank, credit limit, amount of debt, and paying habits, the last of which was typically described by code. The bureaus regularly collected city and county records and mortgages, transfer of deeds, conditional sales contracts, foreclosures, and marriage licenses. Bureau secretaries also clipped items from the local newspaper regarding building permits, marriages, births, deaths, suicides, divorces, new arrivals in town, and "personals." Finally, information was acquired through "casual conversations and personal interviews with debtors" (Blocker, 1927).

The nuts and bolts of credit reporting spread through industry organizations and through magazines geared toward accountants. The Chicago-based System regularly featured articles with titles such as "A File That's Always Ready," "Taking the Risk Out of 'Poor Credits,'" and "How Customers Get a Quick O.K. For Credit." A 1913 article discussed how each of 128

Illinois cities and towns had its own local credit association, how codes were used to classify customers, and how information about known delinquents was disseminated to members all over the state. "A customer once on the bulletin is never taken off, even if he yields to pressure and pays up," the magazine reported. Finally, merchants need not fear loss of trade secrets, for "the bulletined information, while accurate, is anonymous" (Zimmerman, 1913).

Across the country, credit bureaus developed their own procedures for delivering information to members. According to a 1935 survey of mid-sized cities, the bureau in Dallas completed written reports in a day, while the Louisville bureau had a turnaround of four hours. In Portland, Oregon, a messenger visited stores four times a day. Reports were also delivered via telephone, messenger, and "telautograph," always on the same day ("Credit reports: Analysis of the costs...," 1935).

RETAIL CREDIT IN POPULAR DISCOURSE

CREDIT AND CHARACTER

A rhetoric of ethos played a critical role in making the idea of retail credit acceptable to a culture that for centuries had resisted the notion of debt as inconvenient and possibly immoral. From Genesis (the story of Esau and Jacob) to the Victorian era, a disapproval of debt was entwined with ambivalence about consumption and leisure in general. Flesh was weak and an impediment to salvation; thrift indicated virtue.

Both J.C. Penney and Henry Ford, giants in their respective industries, resisted joining the credit bandwagon for years in the pious conviction that debt was sinful (Hardy, 1938). But there were also practical reasons to avoid debt. Until the mid-nineteenth century in England, for example, debtors suffered harsh prison sentences. At the absolute mercy of their creditors, some debtors were known to remain jailed til death. George Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament who worked to reform the debt laws in the 1700s, later founded the colony of Georgia as a refuge for the poor, including refugees from London's debtors' prisons (Barty-King, 1991).

Among some intellectuals, the view that credit was the path to social ruin maintained currency well into the twentieth century. The Atlantic published a critique of retail credit in 1926 in which the writer claimed that the average individual could not control his or her desires under the spell of the new consumerism. Easy credit was "the sledgehammer that broke down the sales resistance of a generation that had known hard times in the nineties and therefore had looked to its pennies," the writer charged:

> In order to possess nonessentials many families cut down on essentials, set a less nourishing table, buy fewer shoes, and skimp on living-quarters. The family that runs a car and yet cannot afford to install a bathroom may be found in every town (Pound, 1926).

Some in the credit industry itself drew the same conclusion; installment buying "leads many people with small incomes to assume obligations too heavy for them to carry, with serious consequences to themselves and to the community" (Hardy, 1938). The authors noted that most people who receive loans use them to alleviate the short-term "embarrassment" or "inconvenience" of their debts, but are incapable of using credit to improve their long-term prospects. An economist named Roger Babson argued in The Folly of Installment Buying (1938) that this lack of control was destroying the moral fiber of the country:

> The crime of installment selling is that it is causing manufacturers, advertisers, merchants and consumers to go more madly after material things to the neglect of the things of the spirit.... Those traits of thrift, industry, and reliability which created America are fast becoming obsolete. People fail to realize that a very thin veil separates carelessness from crime (Michelman, 1966).

Literary Digest noted with apparent bemusement that the chamber of commerce in Bloomfield, Nebraska, population 1,431, had successfully persuaded all merchants to revert to cash-only sales policies because the social disruption caused by credit had proved too great ("The town where nobody owes," 1929).

But these critical views did not dominate the popular discussion of retail credit. Rather, popular magazines often dismissed resistance to credit as naive or irrational, particularly in the years before the Depression. "The thought that thrift can easily be more destructive than constructive is new," reported The Saturday Evening Post (Crowther, 1928). Collier's adopted a more impatient tone:

> We do not seem to know much about credit -- although sometimes we think that we do, and there are extant many

> learned discussions on credit. We still see people point with pride to a record of "never having owed a dollar," although if you press them for the reason behind their pride they will be unable to tell you, and always you will discover that their affairs have been small (Basset, 1923).

Similarly, a "California housewife" wrote in Sunset Magazine that although her mother clings to the old counsel about debt, "Now, after running charge accounts for over fifteen years, I am not the least bit ashamed when I say to the clerk 'Charge it, please,' but rather take a certain amount of pride in the fact that my credit is still good" ("A California housewife," 1929).

How had buying on credit become a source of pride rather than shame? One reason English debtors had been treated so harshly was the belief that many were merely swindlers and ne'er-do-wells. Debt was equated with knavery, or lack of character (Barty-King, 1991). Debt became acceptable when this association was turned on its head. In the new version of the story, debt represented character -- it signified responsibility, success, morality -- because only a man (or, less often, a woman) of character was entrusted with credit. Putting a fine point on the matter, the president of the Lord & Taylor department store wrote in Collier's: "The man who gets credit and keeps it through life, who uses it and uses it well, is a man of courage.... Where money is simply a measure of value, credit is a certificate of virtue" (Reyburn, 1925). Credit verified a man's ability to keep his promises and served as a public sign of rectitude.

Unlike the old character based on thrift, the new character built of debt could be expressed in economic language. The new character was easily capitalized in the marketplace. As The Saturday Evening Post put it, "That character could be collateral for a loan is a very new idea" (Crowther, 1928). Collier's explained to its readers that credit was an expectation, not a favor, because they were assets of the stores in which they shopped: "If the owners had been trying to sell their establishment, they would have been at great pains to show the quality of their trade by the number and character of their charge customers -- you are part of that store's good will" (Basset, 1923).

Retail credit seemed to bring new groups of people, among them clerks and mechanic's wives, into contact with a vast array of consumer goods and the possibilities of "lifestyle." In imagination, if not necessarily in reality, the widespread availability of credit suggested that a marketplace once reserved to the privileged had been opened suddenly to the masses. But this apparent democratization threatened to dilute the value of traditional character. Of what value was character if anyone could claim it? The tension between democracy and caste was reflected in popular representations of retail credit. Some writers, for example, linked credit worthiness and breeding explicitly. Ladies Home Journal alerted readers to the impressions received by credit men:

> A woman, simply gowned and refined in manner, who is quietly conservative and takes the questions as a matter of routine, registers much more effectively than one who is

> ablaze with diamonds and iced with hauteur or warmed with geniality.
>
> Agents on commission, brokers and promoters invariably slow his step; actors and writers and artists and decorators halt him entirely. He knows too many salesmen whose sins are of omission rather than commission, too many artists who would rather sign a check than a picture...not to demand extra assurance in the way of realty holdings, financial statements and stocks and bonds (Thompson, 1928).

Other stories about credit inverted traditional class relationships. According to this anecdote from The Saturday Evening Post, the wealthy and privileged were no more likely to be credit worthy than the ordinary working man or woman:

> " 'Do you know that three stores in which I have old accounts have refused to deliver merchandise to me? And I understand that you are to blame. What have you to say for yourself?'
>
> "As usual, I consulted the card. She was not paying any of her bills. Before I had an opportunity to give her any answer, she continued, 'Do you realize that I could spend $100 a week in a dozen stores and never feel it?'
>
> "The opening was too good. 'Of course, you do not feel it,' I retorted. 'This record shows all bills unpaid for the last three months and you have been spending your $100 a week, as you said.'
>
> " 'But I am able to pay.' And she looked her disgust.
>
> "And then I had opportunity to give my favorite definition. 'Credit,' I said, 'is not ability to pay. It is willingness to pay. If you are unwilling to pay, soon you are without credit, regardless of material possessions'" (Thompson, 1924).

As the tale suggests, the upper class was prone to arrogance, believing it unnecessary to make credit payments regularly. Read together, these two stories were typical of the way popular discourse worked through the multiple meanings retail credit might assume. On the one hand, credit was expected to reaffirm rigid social categories, but on the other, the democratic potential of credit could not be ignored.

Prominent among the social groups who seemed liberated by retail credit were women. Credit appeared to release wives from the fiscal authority of their husbands. But women were traditionally considered individuals of weak character, and therefore likely to be poor credit risks. The import of retail credit for gender relations was explored in a variety of discourses, including the legal. Literary Digest reported a 1929 court case in which a man sued his wife to make her responsible for her own debts and hence, her own credit reputation; he won ("Charging wives," 1929). Yet when men regained control of their reputations, women realized a greater degree of autonomy over their own. Such was to contradictory effect of retail credit that it could simultaneously appear to reinforce and subvert power relations between the genders.

Popular stories about credit frequently depicted women spending profligately, and the mass media imagined many a credit man arbitrating marital disputes. As consumers, women were impulsive, irresponsible and manipulable; only a stern lecture from a husband or credit manager stood between them and financial disaster. In a version of the story related by The Saturday Evening Post, "the perpetual contest to put up as good a front as the neighbors" leads to bad judgment and extravagance, but it is the women who commit the error:

> Two couples live near each other. They're friendly -- play bridge and go to the theater together. But in one household the husband earns $3500 a year; and the husband of

> the other household earns $7000. Yet the $3500-a-year wife tries to live just as expensively -- and merely for the sake of appearance -- as does her friend ("Getting on in the world," 1927).

The story went on to wonder, without conclusion, why single women were better credit risks than married women. But according to American Magazine, unmarried women were equally susceptible to social pressure and therefore too irresponsible for credit:

> Take, for instance, a young stenographer. She sees other girls in the same block wearing nice clothing, and she naturally wants to dress as well. She does not know the salaries of the other girls, but she feels she must maintain their standard of dress. As a result, she buys gowns, hats and shoes thoughtlessly (Gregg, 1920).

In another American Magazine story, an exaggeratedly boorish male writer offered that "wives are either tightwads or spendthrifts" and ruin their husbands' reputations carelessly. "No woman ever had any idea what a man's credit means.... No bill ever bothers them until they're pushed to the point where they have to own up they owe it." The writer proposed a law to forbid merchants from selling on credit to a dependent wife, unless he first has in writing her husband's permission (Kelland, 1928). However, the magazine appears to have wanted it both ways, and paired this chauvinist screed with a rejoinder by Emily Post. The famous etiquette expert did not dispute that women often got into credit trouble, but blamed the situation on husbands who did not treat their wives as full business partners. If wives overspend, it is because overly proud husbands keep the family finances secret from them. In fact, Post wrote, men will buy anything, while women, the more experienced shoppers, insist on getting the best deal (Post, 1928).

The disruption of class and gender hierarchies arose not only from the shifting definition of character but also from shifts in the epistemology of character. Credit reporting technology introduced new practices for knowing character based on allegedly "objective" and "scientific" procedures. But information in this sense was a technology of uncertain shape and value. Its authority compared to prior, "subjective" means of knowing character, such as acquaintance and local experience, had not been established. The technology remained vague in popular discourse, and as a result, it was both possible to dismiss it derisively and to mystify it with virtually magical properties.

Many writers were reluctant to claim that credit reports could be substituted for old-fashioned, common sense judgements about character. A credit man insisted to American Magazine in 1919 that character could be read in the face by anyone experienced in such matters:

> We get references, and we try to keep a watch on suspicious fellows, but the majority of young men have in their faces their best guarantee. The honest sign is there for anyone to read, anyone, at least, who has been as long in the business as I have (Bennett, 1919).

A 1912 Harper's Weekly article maintained that because integrity was apparent to the eye of the expert, objective credit information was superfluous:

> Most tradespeople make some use of the local credit organizations, but they rely less on them than on their own

> personal judgment. It is the impression that a man or woman makes that counts the most. If the prospective customer is intent upon ultimately beating the tradesman he is sure to betray it. The latter's eye is as experienced as that of a trained detective. Honesty as a moral inclination is as evident to him as the reverse (Dayton, 1912).

Harper's went on to describe how merchants gathered the information needed for credit evaluations "almost entirely from seemingly casual gossip with his customers about people they know, and from the friendly janitors of apartment houses in the neighborhood." In this small village atmosphere, the coordinates of virtue are known by consensus and tradition. "The tenants in each apartment house take color from the apartment itself. Some houses have a bad credit standing. No matter how honest may be the person who lives in them, he is looked at askance in a credit way until it is decided whether he is 'good pay.'"

The mysteries of credit information caused consternation at Collier's, which satirized the credit industry with a typology of credit men in a 1915 issue. First there was the "gambling" credit man, who turns down credit risks based on hunches and feelings. Next was the kind of credit man who hates to extend credit any time, believing the world would be a better place if everyone simply paid cash. He distrusts credit information but not his own eyes, for he is particularly soft when it comes to people he knows. Finally there was the "science" of credit, practiced "up to a certain point" by some credit men. The rules of this science can be learned from books, the writer noted sardonically. "These rules are good. They can't help being good, because they are founded on statistics. Everybody knows that anything founded on statistics is good." In reality, wrote the author,

> The science of the credit men who imagine they are scientific consists mostly in a collection of hobbies, prejudices and superstitions. Some of my own, for example: In dealing with individuals, I am afraid of men with lobeless ears; of certain classes of professional men; of all owners of threshing machines, sawmills, or race horses; of all takers of tips; and of nearly all persons who speak with extreme emphasis -- or naivete -- or unction. Absurd, you say? I know it (Maxwell, 1915).

Figuratively throwing up his hands, the writer determined that the whole matter was unresolvable. The best way to judge credit risks, he concluded, was to have no information at all: neither "scientific" knowledge, since it appeared to have little practical value, nor subjective knowledge, since it blurred the issue. Superstition was the last, best option.

Another kind of mystification is at work in a 1918 article in American Magazine. Here information seems to endow the credit man with penetrating vision into the very soul of his subject. When a "well-dressed young man" walks up to a credit window,

> ...The credit man has him fill out a little card, with space for his name, home address, occupation, and whether married or single. After looking at the man and the card, the credit man can guess that the man doesn't own his home, is living somewhat beyond his means, is selfish, therefore not well-balanced -- inclined to please himself at the expense of somebody else -- and should not be trusted too far (Kelly, 1918).

This amazing ability to appraise people based on sketchy credit information made the credit man a subject American Magazine, the sixth most popular magazine in the 1920s (Mott, 1967), would return to frequently. Yet the confusion of the writer here is telling. After marvelling at the credit man's talent, he notes that technology has already made it obsolete:

> But more often than not it is unnecessary to ask any questions at all. For if the applicant has ever had credit elsewhere, his whole record is already on file.... When a store lets a stranger open a charge account, they know a great deal more about him than he suspects (Kelly, 1918).

The record on file was, of course, objective, and therefore "accurate." Applicants could do little to dispute its contents. For merchants, noted The Saturday Evening Post, the certitude offered by credit reporting technology brought practical benefits, such as protection from unhappy customers. As one store manager reported:

> Of course, there is little likelihood that the information will be anything less than absolutely authentic. Stores do not think that they have received cold checks. They know. They do not guess that an account has been put in the hands of a collection attorney. They are sure. But I have quite a number of visits that begin with threats (Thompson, 1924).

If credit reporting truly plumbed the essence of human character, and produced results beyond dispute, consumers might have simply resisted the aggressive promotion of retail credit by merchants. Who's soul, after all, could withstand such scrutiny? But popular culture contrived an answer that made such scrutiny acceptable, as will be explored in the next section.

Mass media stories about credit reporting often stressed the speed, reach, and efficiency with which credit information could be exchanged among stores; the system was unbeatable. The subject of many credit anecdotes was an arrogant shopper who, in her insistence that she deserved credit in some shop, was deliciously humbled by credit reporting technology, which had turned up a problem with her old accounts in Chicago or Los Angeles. In 1928 Ladies Home Journal described a well-to-do woman's demand for credit from a new store:

> The credit man was suave. "I'd rather you took a little more time. You already have a good many accounts to occupy you, haven't you?"
>
> "I am surprised," was her retort. "Just because I let a little bill run over for a couple of days."
>
> "But aren't two accounts in the hands of attorneys?"
>
> "Why -- why --" The lady faded out of the picture. (Thompson, 1928).

System promised businessmen that credit reporting was fast and thorough:

> As a result of the information exchanged, the man who refuses to pay his bill in one store of a town finds it impossible to secure credit from another dealer. His record is known. If he moves to another part of the state his situation is no easier.... The customer's record forwarded from his former place of residence, immediately checks his attempt to live at the expense of others (Zimmerman, 1913).

In another article, System described the network of hidden "vacuum tube conveyers" at one company through which credit requests were sent to the credit manager for approval, unbeknownst to the waiting customer ("Of a credit manager," 1925). Similarly, The Saturday Evening Post reported the arcane details of credit information processing, including a "special telephone system," with great enthusiasm:

> With a messenger service that covers the entire shopping district every two hours and a corps of trained investigators under a chief investigator, the bureau is highly keyed for efficiency. The investigators have automobiles, so that they can get quick personal information in regard to the home surroundings of an applicant, his employers, his references, his history and property holdings (Thompson, 1924).

In light of the cultural climate of the day, this pervasive and mostly hidden system for monitoring consumers might have sparked privacy concerns. Edward Shils (1975) has described a middle-class "culture of respectability" governing local relationships in early twentieth century America. The residue of the late 1800s, which Shils called "the golden age of privacy," the culture of respectability promoted the concealment of scandalous family behavior and an outward appearance of frugality, order, and propriety. Private matters were infrequently, and then only voluntarily, offered to the scrutiny of neighbors; neighbors themselves were increasingly unfamiliar and opaque due to urbanization and mobility. Credit reporting, then, would seem to have threatened these values since it brought the financial fortune or misfortune of families into the public realm. Note, for example, how The Saturday Evening Post described the price of poor credit not as a private setback, but as an explicitly public humiliation:

> If a man is to continue to enjoy the feeling of satisfaction

> that arises from the fact that he has credit -- that someone trusts him -- he must merit confidence. He must meet his obligations. If he neglects them he will encounter embarrassment and disappointment and chagrin. He will suffer many a perspiring hour of discomfort. And among credit men all over town he will become known as a man who doesn't pay ("Getting on in the world," 1927).

The credit industry recognized the importance of respectability and made special efforts to assure consumers it would avoid unnecessary public disclosure of their private facts. For example, industry texts advised credit men to solicit information through casual conversation rather than direct interrogation, in order to keep the applicant at ease. One guide illustrated how an artful credit man might deal with a "high strung" credit applicant who gave her name as Mrs. James L. Sherman:

> "That's not the Sherman down at City Hall, is it?" inquired the credit man in a friendly fashion, as if his only object was the interest in discovering a former acquaintance.
>
> "Oh, no," she replied, "my husband works for the electric light company. He's been there for the past six years."
>
> "That's right. Isn't he in the accounting office?"
>
> "No, he is assistant in the contract department.

The book also advised that credit interviews be conducted out of sight of other store patrons, in a private, "quietly furnished and tastefully decorated" area (Beebe & Childs, 1927).

In popular media, the privacy issue was rarely noted. But mass circulation magazines frequently celebrated the widespread "honesty" of Americans in stories about retail credit. "Can people be trusted? Of course they can," told one story. "In

Every 100 Men 99 Are Honest," announced the title of another. "The surety man soon finds out that nearly all normal human beings are naturally honest," a businessman wrote in American Magazine (Joyce, 1920). The Saturday Evening Post reported:

> The repayment of a loan engages both the willingness and the ability to repay, and I found that lenders took willingness -- that is, honesty -- so entirely for granted that they did not even bother to try to separate the cases of dishonesty! The honesty of people in general is now an accepted business fact (Crowther, 1928).

A 1928 Collier's article entitled "The Good New Days" noted with pleasure that "big business," including banking, the stock market, and mass production, are all worthy of generalized trust. "Buyer and seller have each gained confidence in the integrity of the other.... Payment is made by a slip of paper drawn on a bank, sometimes thousands of miles away, and it is accepted without question as to whether the money is there" (Thorpe, 1928). The business press also noted how trust enabled credit and improved business. A manufacturer explained in System how he built his washing machine company from a "rank failure into a notable success" by adopting the assumption that most people are honest. "Do not mistake the plan," he wrote. "We knew that all people are not honest; but we made, as a matter of business policy, the assumption that they are." However, in the business press it was also safe to admit that trust might be hedged. The company did not ship to anyone who clipped a magazine advertisement, the manager admitted; sometimes the company wrote to other merchants and "asked the addressee to tell us in confidence if he would consider it safe to trust the person mentioned" (Barker, 1918).

A writer for American Magazine claimed to have discovered that "ninety per cent of the people can be trusted absolutely, and about seven per cent more are trustworthy in intent and will make good unless conditions get beyond them." A furniture seller then told of a couple bankrupted by illness who, instead of ignoring their payment notices, asked the company to repossess the furniture. "But those young people could be trusted! We'd trust them again any time," the furniture man told the writer (emphasis in original). And the manager of a Manhattan self-serve lunchroom, another innovation requiring customers to pay for goods after receiving them, told of an incident in which a man ate fifty cents worth of food and tried to pay only twenty cents. The man behind him, alert to the attempted thievery, shouted to the rest of the lunchers. "The whole body of patrons rose and started for that man," the manager said. "They surrounded him; they jeered him; they caterwauled in his face. Someone, not one of the lunchroom officials but one of the patrons, lifted him none too gently and propelled him to the sidewalk, after he had been assisted to pay the thirty cents still due" (Bennett, 1919).

Such tales had heuristic value, as they instructed readers about appropriate behavior in novel social situations. But they also had the more general effect of assuring readers that since they were innately honest, and strove to pay their bills promptly, they had little reason to fear repercussions from their credit information.

No one seemed more deserving of trust than credit men themselves. Recognizing the concerns their access to embarrassing and damaging information might raise, credit men worked hard to project a comforting image. "Men of keen vision, logical, patient, experienced, educated, are the only type that will qualify for credit executive posts," advised an instructional manual. "Above all, the credit man must be of such character that his teachings and decisions entitle him to the respect of his customers and salesmen. It should not be said that he does not practice the code of honor that he preaches" (D'Andrea, 1936). Credit men also spoke for themselves through the pages of popular magazines. American Magazine told of the Solomonic wisdom with which W.H. Gray, secretary of the Cleveland Retail Credit Men's Association, made decisions about hardship cases. For an overextended accountant, the credit man persuaded the merchants not to prosecute; he even found the accountant a job. For an "impulsive mechanic's wife" who got into trouble with a "beauty doctor," he developed a schedule for "pooling" the debts and paying them off in installments. But he also insisted that her husband be informed, deaf to the woman's fear that she would be beaten: "The woman cried and begged Gray to help her out, but he firmly refused and she went away. How she finally arranged matters he does not know" (Gregg, 1920).

Above all, popular discourse revealed a fervent desire to see credit men as sensitive to human failings. Ladies Home

Journal noted that there are times "when even the credit man closes his eyes and guards his data as being of interest to no one save himself. Peccadillos, family secrets, small vanities and subterfuges are treated with sympathy and understanding, where they cannot be ignored" (Thompson, 1928). A credit man told The Saturday Evening Post that he experienced personal conflict when forced to disappoint, reprove, or discipline some fellow member of the community:

> The hardest thing I have to do...is to turn down some nice, well-meaning person who comes in here and wants to open an account but whom, after investigating his qualifications, I feel I must refuse. Often as not I am thinking of his own good as well as ours; but in such cases there is almost always the lingering belief that I thought him personally unreliable (Sprague, 1925).

Ironically, credit men were thought wise precisely for the vast amounts of personal information with which they had been entrusted. Information that addressed the fundamentals of human character could not help but grant credit men insight into the souls of their neighbors. American Magazine described one credit man as "a great expert in telling who can be trusted." The one-time newsboy and telegraph messenger shared these observations with the magazine's readers:

> The eccentric person who wears weird clothing, or has weird ideas, and isn't afraid to express them, could be trusted with the queen's jewels. There's no camouflage about him. You know right where he stands.
>
> ...the very profane man is almost never a defaulter. He may shock our sensibilities, but he won't bother our bank account. All his protests against life evaporate in language. They do not sour down inside him.

> Foreigners, as a rule, have a weaker sense of moral obligation than the native American. Yet the best risks in the whole wide world are the Chinese (Joyce, 1920).

Mr. Gray, whom we met above, was admired not just for his wisdom, but also for his mastery of credit technology: "More than five hundred merchants and other business men turn to him when a customer wishes to open a charge account. Thirty direct lines from leading stores run into his office -- and they are kept busy most of the time. On cards in his files are facts about more than half a million Clevelanders, and these facts are so minutely classified that Gray can give an accurate 'size-up' of any one of them within a few minutes" (Gregg, 1920).

This knowledge and authority was occasionally demonstrated in magazine stories about credit abusers, who tended to belong either to the criminal element in society on the one hand, or to the morally inferior social classes on the other. Outright thieves had most reason to fear credit reporting because the fraud was invariably uncovered, the deed punished, the perpetrator's picture "hung in the city rouge's gallery" (Thompson, 1924). Mr. Gray of Cleveland issued weekly bulletins to four hundred stores describing suspected thieves and their respective *modus operandi*. If a report arrived that a credit swindler "left tracks in a certain store," the secretary and his assistants would man the telephone exchange and spread warnings along the street. In many instances, the suspect was caught before going half a block (Gregg, 1920). In an *American Magazine* article titled "Adventures of a Credit Manager," a "small, dark, quietly-dressed man" named "Tony Barreto" attempts to steal a pair of bargain gloves with a forged check. Escorted upstairs by an alert clerk, Mr. Barreto initially feigns outrage, but the credit manager tricks him into a contradiction through clever questioning:

> At the end of a tense moment the man cringed and began to whine. "I'm caught. I did it," he muttered thickly. "But, mister, you'll let me off this time? There's three state prison sentences now against me. You know that under the Baumes law I'll go up for life this time. And I got a wife and two young children. Just tell that flatfoot out there you've made a mistake. Won't you, just this time?"
>
> The credit manager had his turn at mental anguish. It is no pleasure to send a fellow being to a long life behind prison walls. The amount involved was only twenty dollars. It would be easy to tell the house detective that they had the wrong man. Then he shook his head sadly.

And the thief, clearly depicted as an Italian immigrant, was taken away. Afterward, the manager told the magazine, "That check passer's police record was on my desk and one line especially appealed to me. 'He always shoots his way out of tight places,' the record read" (May, 1929).

While con artists received no leniency, people who made mistakes in the use of their credit, even as the result of gross irresponsibility, were treated quite differently by popular culture. Lapses of judgement could be forgiven, and credit restored, so long as the individual atoned for the error. A 20-year-old clerk at a tobacco company confessed that his first credit purchase "was the proverbial first drink" that tempted him to live well beyond his station. His debt grew so deep that he lost his job, his friends, and his self-respect. Only hard, honest work restored his dignity:

> I worked at this [industrial plant] eight months, during which time I lived in a third-rate boarding house in the neighborhood of the plant. At first the fare disgusted me, the people among whom I lived filled me with loathing, and the work made my hands rough and my muscles ache. Little by little I got over this. My appetite improved and every meal found me ravenous. My muscles filled out and toughened, and the manual labor which I performed became a pleasure (Jones, 1925).

By paying this price in humiliation and hard work, the young man proved his character, and earned the right to return to the society of decent, honest Americans. Thus by depicting individuals who did have something to fear from the credit authorities as either criminals or fools, popular discourse helped consumers to rationalize continual monitoring of their behavior. The sting of credit reporting was soothed by the apparent virtuousness and wisdom of credit men, a profession of uncertain legitimacy within the business world, but one whose popular image benefitted from the need to believe that personal information would be put to benign purposes.

CONCLUSION

The discourse about retail credit suggests how popular culture tried to come to terms with the transition toward using bureaucratically processed information in everyday transactions. In terms developed by Anthony Giddens (1991), retail credit reorganized social relations spatially, by lifting the individual from his dense network of local ties and placing him, as it were, within a national economy, and also *temporally*, by reifying the individual's past and future in the form of a credit record with which others could interact. As the technological innovations took root in the economy, popular literature wrestled with the transition to a social world which seemed to discount knowledge based on personal acquaintance, trust, and intuition.

Popular discourse did much to *apologize* for the evolving credit economy. It converted credit from a source of shame to a source of pride. It comforted those who worried that the traditional value of character would be displaced by judgements based on objective information. It suggested that surveillance of retail credit transactions was necessary, proper, and non-threatening. In many cases, it assumed that credit information would reinforce, rather than undermine, inherited assumptions about class and gender.

At the same time, however, popular discourse also *elegized* a past that seemed to be fading away in the face of modern technologies such as credit. It employed older rhetorics of ethos and trust to rationalize credit technology even as it became increasingly clear that credit had little to do with either ethos or trust, and much to do with income and a record of paying one's bills on time. Through this dual discursive process of apology and elegy a "common sense" understanding developed of the technological innovations of retail credit and credit reporting -- and by extension, the application of information to social relationships. The new technology came to seem unremarkable and non-threatening by this ideological accommodation.

The "mythos of technology," as Carey and Quirk (1988) describe it, is ironic. The hopes placed on new technologies, the attention and praise heaped upon them in popular culture, tend to obfuscate their real effects. Industrialization did not just lead to material abundance, but also to urban congestion and the alienation of workers. Electricity did not just lead to greater knowledge of the world through communication, but also to the centralization of power and the diminution of the public sphere. Popular discourse about retail credit reflected the hopes of Americans that information might preserve a simpler, pre-modern, disappearing world in which character and trust were the coins of social exchange. But current levels of cultural anxiety about information and behavioral monitoring suggest that these hopes have been dashed.

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Atlanta Magazine Has Reported, Reflected
Influenced Its City's Remarkable Growth

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Atlanta Magazine Has Reported, Reflected, Influenced Its City's Remarkable Growth

Since it was founded as part of the Forward Atlanta campaign in 1961, Atlanta magazine has reported, reflected, and influenced the remarkable growth and development of Georgia's capital city. Concurrently, it has been a generally successful pioneer in the modern city magazine era that began in the 1960s. This paper will endeavor to present the story of the magazine through five owners, including the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; six editors, including two who came back for second tours; and several changes in emphasis. In the process, it will attempt to show the magazine's relationship to its city of publication and surrounding counties and call attention to how it depicts the modern city magazine story. Before describing the magazine's development, it seems appropriate to summarize the spectacular growth of the city and the expansion of city magazines during the past three decades.

As recently as the 1950s, Atlanta was best known outside the South for its Civil War heritage, its hospitality, and to those who had been there its propensity for placing Peachtree in the name of its streets. It was a city of several hundred thousand people, a business center, a railroad hub, and a clear economic and cultural leader among Southern cities. But the big sights for tourists to see were the Cyclorama, depicting the Civil War Battle of Atlanta; the Wren's Nest, the home of Joel Chandler Harris, creator of the Uncle Remus stories; and Stone Mountain, a monadnock on the steep side of which was a partially finished carving of Southern military heroes.

Then came the 1960s and the multiple challenges of integration, legislative reapportionment, cultural upheaval, urban migration, deterioration of central cities, and attendant problems. Atlanta had come to a crossroads. Its efforts to establish itself as a business, industrial, and cultural leader were threatened by the specter of integration and myriad growing problems. Decisions had to be made about the integration of stores and restaurants, the future of the downtown area, mass transportation, and other issues. The city's leaders, spurred on by a forward-thinking Chamber of Commerce, opted for voluntary integration of stores and restaurants concurrent with school integration in the fall of 1961. They decided to remain downtown and develop the transportation necessary to bring people in. They made the right decision, took the right turn, and spectacular progress followed. Integration of facilities was accomplished with comparative peace. Mass transportation was inaugurated. Major improvements were made in what was to become one of the busiest airports in the nation. New hotels, office buildings, and shopping malls were constructed. New arts and civic centers were opened, and a sports stadium was built in 51 weeks to attract major league sports to the city. As the years passed, the city became a mecca for conventions, its business and industry multiplied, major league sports teams took up residence, and hundreds of thousands of persons from throughout the world came to call Atlanta home.

As one would expect, the rapid growth was accompanied by problems and challenges, including crime, displaced people, increased transportation needs, insufficient low-income housing, and failing infrastructure. But in the process of growing, and meeting challenges, the city's residents -- those in the middle and upper income groups anyway -- have developed a strong sense of confidence in themselves and a strong sense of optimism about their community's future. Visitors will still find an interest in the city's heritage. The Cyclorama has been refurbished, the carving on Stone Mountain has been finished, centers honoring former President Jimmy Carter and civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. have been opened, the hospitality has rubbed off on many of the newcomers, and numerous streets still have Peachtree in the name. But it's a far different Atlanta now than it was three decades ago. It's the home of baseball's Braves, football's Falcons, and basketball's Hawks. It's the home base of Ted Turner, Superstation WTBS, and the Cable News Network; it has been the site of a superbowl and a Democratic political convention, and it will be the host for the Centennial Olympic Games in 1996.

In a sense, Atlanta magazine is a microcosm of city magazine history, which can be traced at least to the 19th century but did not really blossom until the 1960s. Publications identified as "urban weeklies" discussed urban problems in the middle of the

19th century, but they concentrated more on the fine arts, fashion, music, literature, poetry, humor, gossip and sports. [1] Town Topics, founded by Colonel William Mann in New York City before 1900, was perhaps the first American magazine whose editorial content focused primarily on a city. It contained gossip and general light news of interest to its New York society audience. [2] The New Yorker, founded by Harold Ross and others in 1925, was an even better prototype. It sought to be a reflection in word and pictures of metropolitan life, and some of its features such as "Goings on About Town," which lists places to visit for information and entertainment, have become staples of most modern city magazines. The New Yorker's success prompted others to start city-oriented magazines in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, San Francisco, and other cities in subsequent decades, but none were especially successful. Theodore Peterson suggests the failures may have resulted from attempting to transplant the New Yorker to their localities instead of developing indigenous products. [3] The beginning of the modern movement can probably be traced to the founding of San Diego magazine in 1948. Edwin Self and a partner started the publication and merged it three years later with Point Newsweekly. The resultant periodical provided a liberal voice in the community that had been dominated by conservative newspapers since the Democratic San Diego Journal died in 1960. [4]

Various factors prompted the growth of city magazines in the 1960s. After World War II, the nation's population expanded rapidly and became increasingly concentrated in urban, and especially metropolitan, areas. Increasing numbers of African-Americans joined the melting pot of ethnic groups in the cities, and all struggled to meet the challenges produced by rapid growth and an acceleration of technological and social change. Many inner cities deteriorated as more affluent residents, often white, moved to the suburbs. [5] The number of one-newspaper cities proliferated as owners of that medium made their own adjustments to change. Cities became increasingly competitive for business, industry, and tourism. Subsequently, city magazines were started to provide an alternative voice in the community, promote business and tourism, serve as survival guides for more affluent residents, take advantage of the advertising market created in the suburbs, and perhaps other reasons.

Approximately 60 city magazines were developed during the 1960s for one or more of the reasons cited above. [6] In 1968, John Tebbel wrote that with the emergence of New York in true magazine format every major American metropolis had a city magazine and the medium had come into its own. Tebbel said the business press had been the first to notice "that a kind of publishing which had long been dismissed as self-serving Chamber of Commerce propaganda had changed significantly and was not only a growing medium, offering a new market to advertisers, but one whose magazines had begun to act more like civic gadflies than tame publicity purveyors." [7]

While the primary reasons for the individual magazines' continued operation differed at times, some common content patterns emerged in the 1970s, as increasing numbers of the magazines became privately owned, and these patterns persisted in subsequent years. Although some city magazines discussed community issues and problems, most increasingly concentrated on discussing lifestyles and providing reader services. A survey in the late 1970s found that most city magazine editors regarded pointing out local problems and needs as important functions of their magazines and that about half saw themselves as a possible alternative voice to local newspapers. But the survey also reported that virtually all of the editors regarded providing information about lifestyles and living in the city and providing information about food, travel and entertainment as important. [8] David Shaw, who covers the media for the Los Angeles Times, wrote in 1976 that city magazines had attracted a sophisticated status-conscious audience that buys new cars, stereo equipment, and fine clothes and is highly attractive to advertisers. He said most persons read the magazines "either to learn how to cope with their environment or to enjoy, vicariously, the success that others more wealthy and fortunate than themselves have had in so doing." [9]

The somewhat limited scholarly research done on city magazines tends to confirm the picture painted by the popular media. Alan Fletcher reported in 1977 that city magazines had found an important, albeit narrow, nitche in the marketplace in large-sized and medium-sized metropolitan areas. His survey indicated that establishing a strong local identity was the key to success. [10] Fletcher and Bruce G. VandenBerg reported in 1982 that the magazines were increasing their educational efforts to win advertisers, promoting their magazines in broadcast media, increasing their use of special interest sections, and staying alert to local trends. [11] John P. Hayes reported in 1981 that city magazines' popularity could be attributed to such things as local pride, the failure of some daily newspapers to excite local readers, leisure time, and their upwardly mobile, credit-card-carrying adult readers who attract advertisers. [12] Candice Hughes reported in 1988 that entertainment, human interest, information, government and politics, and self-help got most of the space in the nine city magazines she studied for her master's thesis at Ohio University. Other subjects documented in her content analysis in descending order included business, home, investigation, sports, and editorials and letters. [13]

The profile that evolved during the previous three decades was largely confirmed in a national survey of city magazines by Ernest C. Hynds in 1993. This survey, a partial replication of the 1979 survey noted earlier, identified 74 city magazines in the United States as compared with about 60 in the 1960s. They are located throughout the country and range in circulation from 5,000 or 6,000 to several hundred thousand. More than 90% of their editors said that providing information about living in the city, lifestyles, food, travel, and entertainment are important functions of their magazines. More than four-fifths (82%) said pointing out community problems and needs is important, 54% said providing an alternative viewpoint to that of the local newspaper is important, and 39% said promoting local business and tourism is important. [14]

Atlanta is a particularly interesting city magazine to study because of its contributions to its namesake city and because it has experienced so many of the characteristics, good and bad, that have been associated with the development of city magazines. During the first 16 years of its existence it was operated by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and exhibited the boosterism usually associated with chamber magazines. But at times it was a critic as well as a cheerleader, and Time magazine labeled it the best chamber magazine in the country. During the past 17 years it has been owned for various periods of time by four private magazine groups, including two noted for their city magazines, and has often followed the common city magazine formula of bests and worsts lists, entertainment calendars, restaurant reviews, and stories about interesting people. During this period, too, however, it has at times pursued the ideal sometimes ascribed to city magazines: it has reported the good and the bad in the city and worked for change. It has received, and deserved, both recognition and criticism. Atlanta's experience also has illustrated some of the economic challenges common to magazines, especially city magazines. Its editors and publishers have wrestled with pressures from owners who placed their policies ahead of social responsibility and advertisers who expected free editorial space in exchange for buying advertising.

Cheerleader for City, Chamber

Atlanta magazine was started in May 1961 as an integral part of the Forward Atlanta campaign devised by Ivan Allen Jr., president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, to meet the multiple challenges noted earlier. Allen was elected mayor the next year and successfully guided the city's efforts to meet the challenges of that tumultuous decade. The city was making far-reaching decisions that could not only solve problems but also open the way to an era of great progress. It needed a publication to help tell its story, and Opie L. Shelton, executive director of the chamber, envisioned an Atlanta magazine as the answer. Shelton employed James Townsend, who was then editing a general interest magazine in Dallas, as editor, and within a few months the first issue was ready.

Despite promising that Atlanta would be critical when appropriate, the chamber made it clear from the beginning that the magazine's preeminent role would be cheerleader. In the first issue, Shelton presented an editorial or column titled "Only the Best Is Good Enough for Atlanta" in which he explained the chamber's reasons for starting a magazine. He said it was needed because existing local media could not possibly tell the whole story of the dynamic, bustling, growing metropolitan area; because other cities that would challenge Atlanta's leadership in the South were telling their stories to the nation; and, most important, because those living in Atlanta must be kept informed of problems and needs. He warned that Atlanta "will not be a puff sheet which glosses over the facts of life," that it "will pull no punches"; but he emphasized in closing that the magazine entered the scene "ambitious in its desire to be a top salesman for the top city of the top nation in this little old world of ours." [15]

Under Townsend's guidance until March 1967, Atlanta evolved as an enthusiastic cheerleader for the city. The second issue celebrated the opening of the city's new $8 million air terminal, and subsequent issues talked of industrial progress, the prospects for mass transportation, the increasing influence of urban areas in the wake of legislative reapportionment, and the integration of the schools without incident. Townsend employed good writers and produced an attractive magazine, which was sent by the chamber to government and business leaders throughout the world.

Regrettably, the magazine generally eschewed tough coverage of problems, such as achieving the integration of the schools, that had been promised. Frank O'Neill, who served as articles editor during the late 1960s, said there was nothing in the issues before 1967 to bother anyone's brains. [16] Others including Diane C. Thomas, who wrote an article for the 20th anniversary issue, were more sympathetic. She said, "Atlanta Magazine may have never gone out of its way to rake muck, but it was never a puff sheet for the Chamber of Commerce." [17] Thomas suggested that the production lag of from four to eight weeks relieved the magazine "from the onus of carrying breaking news and, thereby, the necessity of becoming the bearer of bad tidings." [18] Under Townsend, a man with deep love and respect for good writing, the magazine was clearly a literary success. It ran articles by many good writers, including Bill Diehl, Anne Rivers Siddons, Paul Hemphill, and Terry Kay, all of whom earned recognition in subsequent years for their novels.

Cheerleader and Critic

Atlanta may have achieved the primary goals envisioned by Shelton during its early years. There was much in the city to cheer, and the magazine was an effective cheerleader. But was that enough? Jack Lange, the managing editor who became editor when Townsend and other staff members resigned in March 1967 to start a consulting firm, didn't think so. Under Lange's guidance until a major disagreement with Chamber of Commerce officials in December 1969, the magazine became a critic as well as a cheerleader. It kept writing about the city's achievements, but it also documented the city's problems and challenges. It reported on the civil rights movement and explored what roles African-Americans should be playing in the city's development. It looked at poverty, the high suicide rate, the state's military-industrial complex, political change, and related issues. It provided interpretive and analytical stories about business, and it included fiction on a regular basis.

Not surprisingly, Atlanta attracted national recognition for its content as well as for its continuing excellence in graphics. But chamber officials were uncomfortable with the new directions, and perhaps understandably so. They worried about possible adverse effects that stories about civil rights, poverty and suicides might have on the executives of business and industry that they were urging to locate plants and offices in Atlanta. They evidently decided that Lange had to go, and when an opportunity came, they encouraged him to move on. The opportunity resulted from publication of the second-place winner in a short story contest conducted by the magazine. The story was described as offensive, and Lange and several members of his staff were forced to resign. [19] It was found unacceptable because it included homosexual episodes, episodes which Time magazine described as "more vague than vivid." [20] It mattered not that the same issue of the magazine included excerpts from Pat Watters' The South and the Nation, praised by the New Yorker; an excerpt from T. Harry Williams' biography of Huey Long, which later won the National Book Award; a plea for the preservation of Cumberland Island along the Georgia coast; an interview with John Dos Passos; a photo essay on Williamsburg, and other worthy features.

Articles in national media praised what Atlanta had achieved and lamented the loss of Lange and others. Time said the magazine's content "along with imaginative layouts and some fine writing, helped to earn Atlanta (circ. 24,000) a reputation as the best Chamber magazine in the nation as well as one of the best so-called city magazines under any sponsorship." [21] Frank O'Neil, writing in Columbia Journalism Review, said the dismissals and resignations meant that the experiment of providing first-rate journalism under the auspices of a business association had failed. He said he was not surprised, however, because the Atlanta chamber is a chamber, and it feels threatened by the humanistic approach the magazine had taken. [22] Shelton, who by this time was executive director of the chamber, as well as publisher of the magazine, declined to discuss the dismissals but did say he had no bitterness or ill will toward the previous editors. He said, "All anyone needs to make it around here is sound judgment, hard work and a loyalty to the chamber of commerce and its missions." [23]

Gayle Colquitt White, who wrote an Honors Thesis on Atlanta under its early editors, suggested that the magazine seemed more progressive and emotional under Lange than under Townsend. "Whereas Townsend's was selling a city, Lange's was selling a concept -- the concept of a city and a city magazine so real and personal that it could express all the emotions," she said. [24] She said, however, that the magazine was far from radical under

Lange. "Compared to Townsend's magazine, it may have been quite liberal," she said. "Compared to what it might have been it was quite conservative." [25]

Constructive Critic, Booster, Historian

Norman Shavin, who was named to succeed Lange, served as editor from January 1970 until May 1978, when he left after a policy disagreement with the private company that acquired the magazine from the chamber of commerce in 1977. Shavin was a former newspaper reporter and reviewer who had earned acclaim for his development of a special newspaper series for the Atlanta Journal and Constitution during the 100th anniversary years of the Civil War. Each Sunday during those years Shavin and his colleagues presented the news of 100 years ago in the format of a mid-19th century weekly newspaper. His approach to editing Atlanta fell somewhere between those of Townsend and Lange, but was probably closer to the Townsend model. He did, however, run some interpretive articles on the impact of special interest groups, such as African-Americans and neighborhood groups, on the city's growth, and he provided articles on education, the environment and other issues. Shavin said the magazine should reflect the Atlanta story rather than tell or sell it, that it should include constructive criticism, and that it should expose problems but only when it could offer solutions. He said he was proud of the freedom he felt under the chamber of commerce to offer constructive criticism and that he believed business people everywhere would be impressed by that freedom. [26] His continuing interest in history could be seen in a number of special issues related to the magazine's 10th anniversary, Atlanta's 125 anniversary, and the nation's Bicentennial.

In retrospect, it does not appear that there was much in the magazine during the Shavin years to upset chamber members. A content study in 1976 found that approximately half of the magazine's content was devoted to columns and special departments and almost 30 percent was out-and-out puffery for the city. Much of the rest was devoted to general interest features and other non-controversial fare. [27] Not surprisingly, Shavin's tenure drew mixed reviews. One critic said, "Atlanta always appears to be a civic booster rather than a loyal skeptic. It is the quintessential Establishment magazine." [28] A more sympathetic analyst suggested that Shavin's Atlanta was "rough and unfavorable" at times, but "complacent and complimentary" at other times. "Perhaps, she suggested, "he succeeds because he pleases each side some of the time, but neither side all of the time." [29] In the latter years of the decade, the magazine gained national attention by providing information about Jimmy Carter's campaign and presidency.

By the late 1970s, Atlanta had achieved the principal goals of the Forward Atlanta campaign that prompted the founding of Atlanta magazine. The small but ambitious Southern city had been transformed into an international metropolitan area. For this and other reasons, including financial losses incurred by the chamber in publishing the magazine and a national trend toward private ownership of city magazines, the chamber decided to let the magazine go. Only between 1969 and 1973 had the magazine made a profit, and despite achieving its goal of selling Atlanta, its circulation had leveled off at 24,000, a third of which went to chamber members. Only about 10 of the 60 city-metro magazines being published in the late 1970s were published by chambers of commerce. [30]

Privatization and Redefinition

Communication Channels, Inc., a large New York publisher of business publications, purchased Atlanta for an estimated $350,000 in late 1977 and moved its operations to the city in January 1978. Chamber officials chose Communication Channels, Inc., from among several bidders because of its previously announced decision to move to Atlanta, its national reputation, its financial strength, and its announced determination "to preserve the proven quality of Atlanta magazine and enlarge its scope of influence." [31] Joseph Shore, the company's chairman, promised to raise the magazine's circulation and deal with complaints about its bland, chamber-oriented content. "We need more controversial material, more how-to articles, more articles aimed at women and even teenagers," Shore said. [32] Shavin resigned in May 1978 over a difference of opinion on the ultimate objectives of the magazine. Several other staff members left, too, in part because of dissatisfaction with cutbacks in funding for editorial and artistic content of the magazine. [33] The new owners brought back founding editor James Townsend, who by then had earned a reputation for developing city magazines, to redefine Atlanta in its new setting as a private enterprise publication. Townsend attracted a number of new and established writers, expanded coverage of entertainment and arts, and ran a number of penetrating and sensitive articles on Atlanta lifestyles, both conventional and unconventional, during 1978 before failing health forced him to retire. [34] He was succeeded by his executive editor, Larry Kent Woods, a former investigative reporter for Time magazine in November 1978.

Woods' efforts to complete the redefinition of the magazine started by Townsend were short-lived. Under his guidance, the magazine explored a number of issues, but continued to run many of the lifestyle features which characterize most city magazines. He reportedly resigned over a disagreement with management concerning pressure from advertisers. Exact details aren't clear, but Atlanta newspaper columnist Joe Cumming, a veteran of 22 years at Newsweek magazine, wrote in March 1980 that Woods quit because the publisher would not back his efforts to resist pressure from advertisers. Cummings said officials promised that Woods' successor would not have that problem, but he expressed pessimism about the magazine's future. [35]

Those sharing Cummings' pessimism about the magazine's future were encouraged in March 1980, however, when Communication Channels, Inc. recalled Jack Lange for a second tour as editor.

Lange, whose editorship had brought the magazine national acclaim, had remained in the city after leaving the magazine a decade earlier. He had worked in the film business and later as a consultant for corporate communications before being employed by Communication Channels, Inc. to help develop Business Atlanta, which it had acquired in 1979.

Under Lange's guidance again, the magazine developed a pleasing mixture of solid reporting and lifestyle features and expanded its horizons to adopt a more regional approach. Lange said Atlanta, unlike many cities, is a state of mind that includes persons throughout the Southeast. He set out to increase circulation to 150,000, an ambitious goal even for a publication that had doubled its circulation to 52,000 during its first five years as a private enterprise publication. In articles reminiscent of Lange's earlier editorship, the magazine investigated Atlanta's skid row, gambling in the city, the needs of the city's elderly, issues related to local and state politics, and problems of the Chattahoochee River, which runs through the city and serves as a major supplier of water for city residents. At the same time, the magazine explored activities and outlooks in other cities in the Southeast. From February 1982 until May 1983, it used the subtitle "The Magazine of the Urban South." [36]

Lange was named associate publisher as well as editor in 1981, and his work was praised by B. J. Kotsher, president of Communication Channels, Inc. "Because of Jack's efforts to humanize the magazine during the past year, Atlanta more closely reflects Atlanta than most city magazines reflect their cities," Kotsher said. "While some city magazines tend to portray their communities as if they were putting out travelogues -- trendy, get-with-it closets full of skis and roller skates -- Jack Lange has brought Atlanta home to Atlantans. Being associate publisher in addition to editor means that Jack will be responsible for not only the words but the music. Editors ought to have that kind of business input." [37]

It appeared that Atlanta was again on a course toward prominence among the nation's city magazines. The editorial content was impressive. Advertising sales were good. But problems surfaced when Communication Channels, Inc. was sold in April 1981 to Argus Press Holdings Ltd., a subsidiary of British Electric Traction Ltd., a London-based conglomerate. Argus, with annual sales of $2 billion, was listed as a publisher of trade journals, weekly newspapers and other publications. [38] Argus forced the magazine to cut spending, and in time that adversely affected the quality of the product. [39] Thomas Casey, the publisher, resigned after his year-long contract with the new owner expired, and during 1982 and 1983 other staff members left.

New Formula Adopted

Despite financial limitations imposed by the new owners and the departure of some talented staff members, Lange continued to produce a readable magazine with some serious articles as well as the reader services and fluff that had come to typify city magazines across the country. In January, 1983, for example, Atlanta presented a report on The State of the City that reviewed economic, social, political and related aspects of community life. Then in the middle of 1983 management decided that the editorial mix was not right and made changes. In announcing them, Kotsher said the magazine's audience had changed greatly since its chamber days, that it was younger and 45 percent were women. He said a new Atlanta had been designed to appeal to this younger audience that was better educated and had more dollars to spend. "We are aware that we must compete for the time and attention span of the reader and, accordingly, the articles in Atlanta magazine will be shorter and crisper," he said. "They will be of infinite variety reflecting the increasingly broad interests of our readers. Illustrations will be bolder and more colorful." He also promised to address problems in the community. [40] Not surprisingly, changes in approach prompted changes in personnel. Lange and the managing editor resigned.

Veteran journalist Neil Shister, who had lived in Atlanta and written articles for Atlanta magazine, while covering the South for Time magazine, was named editor. [41] His efforts to implement the new approach started well. By October 1984, some 15 months into his editorship, circulation had increased by 10 percent to approximately 57,000 and advertising pages were up 15 percent from the previous year. Most of the new readers probably were in the younger group mentioned by Kotsher since the mean age of the magazine's readers dropped. Shister said the demographic target was readers with a mean age of 40, annual household income of $35,000, who were well-educated, and upwardly mobile. He said the magazine had included "some traditional 'establishment Atlanta' stories/profiles along with lots of 'YUPPIE' sociology/trendy lifestyle stuff" in an effort to attract a younger audience without losing its older, loyal base. [42]

In the fall of 1984, Shister said the major changes envisioned by management had been made, but that they still had to be refined. He talked of providing "service packages that are editorially sound, of general interest, and capable of continuing the magazine's posture as the magazine in the know about Atlanta for people who want to be in the know about Atlanta." [43] He said the primary roles of the magazine were to provide 1) entertainment, emphasizing "people" stories; 2) a vehicle of civic pride/identity/celebration; 3) a news source, emphasizing a comprehensive "round up" of certain stories that are not fully treated in alternative media; and 4) a guide to things to do, places to visit, restaurants and similar activities in the city. He said "readers do not necessarily expect a major treatment of a major story in each issue and that the magazine is not geared up in terms of staff or editorial personality for red-hot investigative stories." [44]

Shister remained as editor until the magazine was sold to Metrocorp in the spring of 1987. During his tenure he pursued the roles outlined in 1984, and the magazine became noted for its coverage of lifestyles and entertainment, its lists, and its stories about movers and shakers in the community. At the same time, Shister said he tried to capture the spirit of the city as he envisioned it. "Atlanta is as much a spirit and attitude as a formal metropolitan entity," he said. "That spirit is a combination of optimism and civility, a faith in the prospects of different kinds of people being able to work together to improve their collective lives." [45] One major step toward this end came in a "Spirit of Atlanta" emphasis in the 25th anniversary issue in May 1986. Not everyone agreed, however, that Shister's Atlanta reflected the city as well as it might have done. Some persons who followed the magazine closely suggested that during his editorship "the magazine had moved away from stories reflecting Atlanta and the South to pieces aimed at young, white Northside residents, the kind of readers who buy the Johnny Walker scotch, Avanti furs and $250,000 homes advertised in the magazine's pages." [46] In his final column as editor in August, 1987, Shister expressed optimism about the city's future. "Where other cities are frozen by inertia and riddled by feuds, Atlanta still runs on a shared sense of common purpose," he said. "As long as that mode prevails, the prospects for this community are bountiful and exciting." [47]

Four Owners in Seven Years

Atlanta got its first owner without an Atlanta base in April 1987, when Metrocorp, a Philadelphia-based company, purchased the magazine from Communication Channels, Inc. for a reported $3.5 million. Outside ownership had begun when Argus Press Holdings Ltd. acquired Communication Channels, Inc., but the subsidiary publishing company had remained in the city. The sale met with general approval, however, because Metrocorp already operated several well-respected metropolitan magazines, including Philadelphia, Boston, and Manhattan, inc., and many believed Atlanta would fare better with a company of that orientation than it had with Communication Channels, Inc., which was essentially a trade magazine publisher, albeit a successful one. As it turned out, the sale was the first of three to outside owners in seven years, but the magazine retained key staff members and continuity after the acquisition by Metrocorp. As expected, the magazine's outlook did improve with the purchase by Metrocorp, which announced that it would make major changes when it took over on Aug. 1. Herbert Lipson, the company's chairman, said he planned to increase the budget, redesign the magazine, and double the number of employees to 30. "You can't produce a city magazine the way you produce a trade book," he said in reference to the fact that Communication Channels, Inc. was noted primarily for its trade journals. "They knew how to do trade publications. What they didn't know how to do was publish consumer publications." [48] Lipson said he expected to double Atlanta's circulation of 58,942, increase the number of pages by adding advertising, and ultimately increase profits. "Our first goal is to produce a quality magazine with intelligent writing," he said. "If you are in a good market and you produce a quality product, the rest will follow." [49] B. J. Kotsher, president of Communication Channels, Inc., said Atlanta had been profitable, but would not disclose figures. He said he wanted to sell only because the magazine did not fit in with his company's other publications. "We decided to concentrate on the business end of things," he said. [50]

Metrocorp kept its promise to improve and expand the magazine. Thomas Casey was brought back as publisher, and Lee Walburn, an experienced journalist who was familiar with the Atlanta scene, was named editor. Walburn had served previously as a columnist and reporter for the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, as a publicist for the Atlanta Braves, and as editor of Atlanta Weekly, the Sunday magazine of the Journal and Constitution. The editorial staff was increased from five to 15, some staff salaries were doubled, fees for free-lance articles were raised from an average of $300 to $1,500, and the magazine was moved from the suburban Sandy Springs home of Communication Channels, Inc. to Midtown Atlanta. The magazine began to win awards again for hard-hitting journalism and for its excellent graphics. [51] The Metrocorp investment and the increases in advertising that followed improvements in the magazine facilitated more improvements in both appearance and content. The magazine adopted a more sophisticated design with a more modern look and more color; it retained its popular emphases on lifestyles and living; and it added serious think pieces featuring a higher level of writing. It also added classified advertising and began a back page photographic feature called "Atlanta in Black and White." The mix of light and serious materials envisioned earlier by Lange and others appeared to be falling into place.

Before Metrocorp could realize a profit from the improved operations of the magazine, however, it received and accepted a profitable offer to sell it. American Express Publishing Corp., a subsidiary of American Express Co., the New York based travel and financial services company, reportedly paid between $5 million and $8 million for the magazine, its good will, and its 65,000 circulation. Thomas O. Ryder, president and executive publisher of the publishing division, did not appear concerned by the fact that the Atlanta economy had turned soft in 1989 and was expected to remain soft for another two years. He said _Atlanta_ would become part of the company's group advertising package, which would produce new national accounts that typically had ignored city magazines. "I believe that Atlanta is one of the most solid long-term bets you can make as far as a market goes," Ryder said. "I believe fundamentally it's a good place to be." [52] Ryder explained that the purchase of _Atlanta_ was part of a company plan to acquire or start magazines in major metropolitan markets in the United States and other parts of the world. The company already published _New York Woman_, _L.A. Style_, and other magazines. The long-range plan was to develop as many city magazines as possible and sell them as a package to advertisers.

It was based on the idea that advertisers would be looking to target their messages to the affluent persons that metropolitan magazines typically attract. Although it sold Atlanta in an attractive market, Metrocorp was expected to follow a similar buying plan in the 1990s. [53]

American Express retained editor Lee Walburn and the entire Atlanta staff, and the magazine basically continued the successful mix developed under Metrocorp. Ryder said he wanted to develop four special home furnishings sections, which are popular with advertisers, and expand dining coverage with more restaurant reviews, wine reviews and special features. Walburn said he wanted the magazine to be taken seriously without being an overly serious magazine. [54] In subsequent months, the coverage of lifestyles, entertainment, and restaurants was increased, the magazine's community presence expanded, ancillary production activities developed, and promotional activities increased. But serious reporting was not ignored, and the number of awards continued to grow. The magazine won numerous citations from area and national organizations for investigative reporting, commentary, public service, excellent writing, medical journalism, understanding law and justice, and local issues reporting as well as for feature writing, design, and photography. One of the most widely acclaimed articles analyzed rape reports in the Atlanta area and reported on who is most at risk and where. The article was accompanied by color graphics showing places where rapes had taken place in the metropolitan area. [55]

Atlanta magazine changed owners for the third time in seven years in August, 1993, when it was purchased from American Express Publishing Corp. by Emmis Publishing Corp., a unit of Emmis Broadcasting Corp. Emmis is an Indianapolis-based firm that owns FM radio stations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, St. Louis, and Indianapolis, several radio industry periodicals, and Indianapolis Monthly, a successful city magazine with a circulation of some 40,000. [56] Emmis was one of four bidders on Atlanta, which had been made available by American Express Co. several months earlier as part of a restructuring of its publishing division. [57] The announcement of its availability came amid reports that American Express Co. had lost a million card members and was seeking ways to boost its profitability. [58] The sale price was not announced, but was reported to be between $1 million and $2 million and other considerations. The other bidders included an investment group headed by Atlanta magazine publisher Thomas Casey and local banker Mark Bedner; Peachtree Magazine, a glossy high-society publication in Atlanta; and Mary Anne and Edgar Holley, an African-American couple from New York with backgrounds in publishing and finance. The Holleys said they would make the magazine more racially, ethnically and economically diverse. [59]

Editor Lee Walburn and several other staff members were retained by the new owner, but eight of 32 employees were cut by American Express on the day of the sale. Publisher Thomas Casey, an unsuccessful bidder for the magazine, left to pursue other business interests; Kris Hoefer, former advertising director, was named publisher and advertising director. Walburn said there would be changes in personnel but not in the content or philosophy of the magazine. He said it was encouraging to note that Emmis had operated one of the most profitable city magazines in the country at a time when all magazines have been suffering financially. In an apparent reference to reduced funding under the new owner, Walburn said, "We'll work harder and we'll work smarter." [60] Jeffrey H. Smulyan, chairman of Emmis Broadcasting, said Atlanta might add staff members later. "We want to get if off the ground and see how we do," he said. "Obviously we want to expand the publication, but you have to walk before you run." Smulyan, who owned the Seattle Mariners baseball team from 1989 until 1992 when it was sold to a group including Japanese games maker Nintendo, said he founded Emmis, which is privately held, in 1981. [61]

Atlanta in the 1990s

Editor Lee Walburn has provided leadership, foresight and stability for Atlanta magazine during the ownerships of Metrocorp, American Express, and now Emmis. As 69 awards, including several National Headliner Awards, attest, he is dedicated to producing a quality magazine for Atlantans. Yet he has adopted a practical, realistic approach to what the magazine can accomplish in light of reduced funding, at least temporarily, under the current owner. He said that at present he does not have the resources to produce time-consuming studies such as the widely acclaimed 1992 article on rape in the city. But he said he believes the magazine can be good in different ways if it operates within its limitations. "It's foolish to try to be something you can't," he said. Our goal is to be the best we can be within ourselves." [62] One way to do that, he said, is to concentrate on the human element in the news. Writers can go beyond the usual news accounts and focus on how individuals facing the ramifications of issues are affected by those issues. Walburn said that city magazines such as Atlanta are at a disadvantage in trying to do investigative stories because they usually do not have adequate resources and they cannot be as timely in reporting the results as the newspaper competition can be. He said on several occasions his reporters have been several months ahead of the competition in investigating stories only to have the late-comers get it into print first. [63]

Walburn said Atlanta's strengths lie in its ability to explain important subjects in words and graphics and in its ability to provide perspectives on a variety of issues. He said he wants his writers to help readers discover the "higher truth" of a story. Walburn said he has been fortunate to have writers at Atlanta who combine strong reporting and good writing, writers who can tell a story and write effectively. He said the photo-essay is another form of communication that can be used effectively in the magazine today. These essays, which were used effectively in Atlanta in the 1960s, may be whimsical or serious. They often are heart-tugging. [64]

City magazines must re-invent themselves more often than any other type of magazine, Walburn said, and Atlanta is continually reviewing its mission, audience and content. He said the mission is to help prepare readers to make choices about issues that affect them and Atlanta and to help them "celebrate not just endure the urban experience." [65] He said he would like readers to regard the magazine as a friend they would invite into their homes and converse with on many subjects, humorous as well as serious. He said the writers should understand what the impact of what's being said is on the readers and when appropriate speak to the readers as a friend might in telling them about a great place to find barbecue. Atlanta's readers are upscale, as are most city magazine readers, but they are not the young group which some magazines target. Walburn said magazines must adjust to the fact that most persons come to what he calls "the age of readership" later than some magazines believe. He said he disagrees with the idea that city magazines must go after younger readers because persons in their 20s and 30s aren't reading that much. He said the average age of Atlanta readers has actually edged upward in the past decade from the middle to the upper 40s. Walburn said the magazine has not reached African-Americans to the extent that it would like, but that he believes Atlanta is "the most ethnically diverse city magazine in the country." [66] He said it routinely presents stories about minorities because they are so much a part of the city and that the high minority base is reflected in the magazine. The magazine's content continues to reflect the mix of serious articles and fun features that helped it achieve success in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It doesn't feature as many personalities on the cover as some city magazines do because Walburn said they don't sell that well in Atlanta. Not surprisingly, Ted Turner and Jane Fonda have been the most popular. [67]

Walburn said Atlanta's major challenges include being in "competition with everything," the love-hate relationship between the city and its suburbs, and an unsophisticated advertising market. He said Atlanta, as other city magazines, is in competition not only with other media but also with leisure activities of all kinds. It has more of a problem than some cities because there's a lot to do, and the climate encourages people to be going places rather than staying home and reading. Walburn said the magazine's approach to readers is complicated by the fact that many of the suburbs are actually small government entities that don't always encourage the concept of a universal Atlanta. He said maintaining a strong advertising base is complicated by the fact that some advertisers still don't see anything wrong with trading editorial space for advertising. [68]

Atlanta and other city magazines must resist the temptation to make such trades, do a better job of educating their advertisers, and look to other options for increasing revenues. A number of options have been tried with some success in recent years. For example, Indianapolis, Atlanta's sister magazine, has challenged the perception that city magazines are not appropriate vehicles for sale advertising by running an eight-page "January Sale" section on a lighter, newsprint-like stock that attracted advertisers who normally use only newspapers at that time of the year. It was well-received. [69] Several magazines including Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul and Phoenix have co-sponsored events with local organizations and in some instances published guides or programs for the events. [70] Atlanta has sponsored special events to raise money for nonprofit agencies such as the zoo. Philadelphia has engaged in a joint reporting effort on personal finance with Philadelphia Business Journal, [71] and New York has made its reviews, theater and movie listings, stock quotations and personal advertisements available through an online service. [72] Other magazines have explored producing books and other spin-offs from their content, publishing other magazines, using cable television and multimedia advertising, providing micro-regional buys in upscale areas, and placing information on cassettes and CDROMs. Houston Life, formerly Houston Metropolitan, worked out an interesting approach to increasing circulation. Gulf Breeze Associates, who bought the magazine in 1992 and changed its name, arranged for it to be distributed as an independent magazine along with the Sunday edition of the Houston Post metropolitan newspaper starting in February, 1993. Circulation jumped from 85,000 to more than 337,000. Regrettably, the new owners announced that Houston Life would focus on lifestyle-oriented issues. Houston Metropolitan often dealt with local controversy. [73] Atlanta and other city magazines may also want to consider whether price increases are justified. [74]

Despite the many challenges facing Atlanta and other city magazines in the 1990s, Walburn expressed optimism about the future of the genre. He said that the media using the much-heralded information highway and its new technology will be able to tell people "what." But the magazine is the only vehicle that will be able to tell them "why." He said people may look to other sources for facts, but that they will look to magazines to help them understand what those facts mean and why they are important. [75]

Epilogue: Observations and Conclusions

During its years as a Chamber of Commerce magazine and integral part of the Forward Atlanta campaign and later in its continuing coverage of community problems and needs, Atlanta magazine has made significant contributions to the remarkable growth and development of its namesake city. As a written voice of the Forward Atlanta campaign, it informed residents as well as prospective visitors, residents and businesses about the city and its potential. Under chamber and later private ownership, it has at times explored city problems and suggested solutions. Although some city and chamber officials might not agree, the magazine probably has done the city more good with its honest appraisals of racial, economic, and other societal problems than in its glowing accounts of new construction, airport expansion, and the development of rapid transportation. Those savvy individuals charged with opening new businesses and branch plants or relocating old ones are going to get a true picture of a city before investing there. They will be impressed with a recitation of the good things, but they will insist also on knowing what the city's problems are and what it is doing to resolve them. Regrettably, Atlanta was more often a cheerleader than a critic during its chamber ownership years, and it has been more often a purveyor of lists, calendars, and entertainment features than a critic during its private ownership years. But at times, especially during the tenures of Jack Lange and Lee Walburn, it has approached the ideal sometimes ascribed to city magazines; it has reported the good and bad and worked for constructive change in the community. It must be noted, however, that Lange was twice replaced as editor and that Walburn's efforts have been restricted by budget cuts in recent years.

Atlanta magazine has experienced most of the variations in purpose and approach associated with city magazines and thus provides a good model for studying the genre. Like Philadelphia in the first half of the century, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Louisville, and others, it was owned for a time by a chamber of commerce. Like most city magazines today, it is now owned by a private enterprise, and like many, it is part of a magazine group. During the chamber years, from 1961 to 1977, it experienced the ownership pressures exerted by such groups. During the independent years since 1977, it has experienced the economic pressures common to private enterprise magazines. Atlanta's varying group ownerships also have provided insights into the city magazine genre. It was owned for 10 years by Communication Channels, Inc., a group dominated by business and trade magazines. Since then it has been owned by MetroCorp and American Express, major players in the genre, and Emmis Broadcasting Corp., a big company but smaller player in city magazines.

For various reasons, perhaps including its periodic shifts in ownership and emphasis, Atlanta has not enjoyed continuing economic success. Most of its owners have struggled to break even, and in many years they have not succeeded. Demographic changes in the group traditionally targeted by city magazines, the expansion of niche publications, increasing options for readers' time, and other factors have contributed to the challenge. Walburn also has expressed concern that some advertisers in the Atlanta area haven't realized that being in a good magazine that is read and respected is better than getting free editorial space in exchange for advertising in one that lacks quality. Other city magazines have experienced similar problems. Some have sought solutions in an increasing emphasis on lifestyles, entertainment, and other materials sometimes labeled fluff. Others, including Atlanta, have sought to mix the lighter materials with serious coverage and commentary. Readers should insist on this approach and through their support encourage advertisers to respect and buy space in quality products. It is not unreasonable to believe that city magazines can be socially responsible, serve readers and advertisers, and earn a fair return on their investment at the same time.

Over the years Atlanta magazine has been frequently recognized for its writing and for its layout and graphics. The magazine has contributed to, and benefited from, the careers of many excellent writers, several of whom have achieved even wider recognition for their novels. One of them, Anne Rivers Siddon, recently completed a novel -- her 10th -- called Downtown that deals with events at a city magazine of the same name during the social ferment of the late 1960s as Atlanta struggled to be the preeminent city of the New South. The title given the novel and the magazine was suggested by a Petula Clark hit in the 1960s. The magazine editor in the novel reminds many of Atlanta's original editor Jim Townsend, who had a great love of good writing, and the heroine, a young magazine writer, has been described as a younger Siddons. [76] The magazine also has been praised for its outstanding graphics. Art directors including Suzanne Anderson and Peter Hudson have won numerous awards from the Society of Publication Designers. [77] Like many city magazines, large and small, Atlanta has always been a colorful addition to the coffee table.

The future of the city that Atlanta magazine has helped move forward appears secure. The future of the magazine is less clear. If the new owners invest enough money in development and if enough local advertisers come to see the advantages of placing their messages in a quality magazine, Walburn can steer a quality course. The awards earned in the past five years prove that. But if the owners try to succeed by pulling back instead of investing, Walburn and quality could be found among the missing.

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3. Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p.79.

4. John Tebbel, "City Magazines: A Medium Reborn," Saturday Review, March 9, 1968, p. 103.

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37. Melinda Boyer, "Editor's Notes," Atlanta magazine, June 1981, p. 8.

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39. Melissa Turner, "The drive to turn Atlanta magazine around," Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Dec. 24, 1989, p. P2.

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Women and the "Larger Household": An Examination of Muckraking in Women's Magazines

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A paper presented to the Magazine Division of the
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Women and the "Larger Household": An Examination of Muckraking in Women's Magazines

The traditional accounts of muckraking have focused on such magazines as McClure's, Cosmopolitan, The Arena, Collier's, Everybody's, Hampton's and The American.[1] These same accounts point to the journalists who contributed to these magazines as the standard bearers of muckraking: Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffins, Ida Tarbell and David Graham Phillips.[2]

These accounts, however, have overlooked an "unlikely" set of magazines that offered their own brand of the journalism of "exposure," the classic definition of muckraking.[3] Today, these magazines would be considered "unlikely" because they are part of a publishing niche commonly associated with mass audiences and more conservative editorial content--or women's magazines dedicated to covering the traditional interests, concerns and duties of the middle-class married woman.

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[1] See, for example, Arthur and Lila Weinberg, The Muckrakers: The Era of Journalism that Moved America to Reform--The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961; Walter M Brasch, Forerunners of Revolution: Muckraking and the American Social Conscience, Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990; David Mark Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers, New York: Citadel Press, 1964. William David Sloan has provided a thoughtful look at the historiography of muckraking in his essay, "The Muckrakers, 1901-1917: Defenders of Conservatism or Liberal Reformers?" in Perspectives on Mass Communication History, Hillsdale: N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991.

[2] Not withstanding Ida Tarbell's importance to muckraking, most historians continue to focus primarily on the male journalists of this time period. Although Louis Filler incorporates women journalists into his updated and enlarged book, his composite of the muckraker remains male. Indeed, in that composite, Filler never uses a female pronoun.
Louis Filler, The Muckrakers, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976, pp. 3-7. See also Judson A. Grenier, "Muckraking the Muckrakers: Upton Sinclair and His Peers," in David P. Colburn and George E. Pozetta (eds.), Reform and Reformer in the Progressive Era, Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1983.

[3] Weinberg, The Muckrakers, p. xviii. Chalmers offers this definition of muckraking, "The muckrakers, then, were the school of magazine journalists of the first decade of the twentieth century who wrote factual accounts of the widespread corruption of society by the forces of wealth." Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers, p. 15.

In the early twentieth century, however, this editorial focus and readership ensured muckraking--but an investigative journalism of a distinct character. These women's magazines tailored their campaigns to the traditional duties of females--as nurturers and homemakers--and transferred them to the "larger community." Or as one writer in a women's magazine implored readers, "In short, begin at home and consider the street, the neighborhood, the community--the larger home."[4]

This link between home and the "larger household" as well as the brand of muckraking journalism designed specifically to mobilize women is vital to the understanding of the extensive involvement of middle-class women in the Progressive Movement.[5] Women could be found in most reform campaigns.[6] However, they tended to congregate in certain key reforms that grew out of their traditional roles as nurturers and homemakers.[7] These included such national, state and local campaigns to abolish child labor,[8] to improve the quality and purity of foods,[9] to improve conditions in the schools,[10] and to label the ingredients in patent medicines.[11] Thousands of women were mobilized to bring about many of the changes of the Progressive Movement.

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[4] Clinton Roger Woodruff, "Woman and Her Larger Home," Good Housekeeping, January 1909, pp. 4-5.

[5] One of the best new treatments of the role of the middle-class woman in the Progressive Movement is Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider, American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920, New York: Facts on File, 1993. Of course, the middle-class basis was not peculiar to women as can be seen in Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

[6] Louis Filler, Appointment at Armageddon: Muckraking and Progressivism in the American Tradition, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976, pp. 264-265.

[7] Schneider, American Women in the Progressive Era, pp. 93-113.

Nonetheless, few historians have looked at the magazines specifically aimed at women to ascertain if -- and what type of -- muckraking journalism might be appearing. With the exception of an occasional mention of the Ladies' Home Journal investigations into patent medicines,[12] there has been no close examination of the role women's magazines--as a group--played in muckraking. This paper is designed to begin the examination.

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[8] See, for example, Walter I. Trattner, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America, Chicago: Quadrange Books, 1970 and Meredith Tax, The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917, New York; Monthly Review Press, 1980.

[9] Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 148-149. See, also, "Our Ten Years," Good Housekeeping, October 1910, pp. 502-503 and "Pure Food Assurance," Good Housekeeping, February 1907, p. 188.

[10] "Our Ten Years," pp. 502-503.

[11] A variety of writers congratulated the Ladies' Home Journal for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. To his credit, Bok declined the congratulations, saying that the magazine had only brought the facts to light. His readers had done the rest. "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal, October 1906, p. 1.

[12] See Harvey Swados (ed.), Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers, Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1962, p. 9. Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism, Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Review, 1961, pp. 48-151. Irving Dillard, "Six Decades Later," in John M. Harrison and Harry M. Stein (eds.), Muckraking: Past Present and Future, University Park; Pennsylvania State University, 1973, pp. 1-10. The best account is of Bok as muckraker is Salme Harju Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace: Edward W. Bok and the Ladies' Home Journal, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. However, even in this book length treatment , the author fails to look beyond the Journal to other women's magazines.

Between 1902 and 1912, the period commonly associated with the muckraking period,[13] four monthlies dominated the women's magazine niche: McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion and Good Housekeeping.[14] Although these periodicals have been grouped under a common women's magazine category,[15] the monthlies differed somewhat in their editorial content and focus. McCall's was a fashion magazine published by the McCall Co. in New York. Between 1902 and 1911, McCall's was edited by Miss E.B. Clapp and, from 1911 to 1912 by William Griffith. Throughout most of the muckraking period,[16] Good Housekeeping, a magazine focusing on food preparation and home maintenance, was published by Phelps Publishing Co., New York, and edited by James Eaton Tower. The Ladies' Home Journal and Woman's Home Companion were broader "lifestyle" books that offered a full range of household tips, crafts, child care features, art and fiction. Ladies' Home Journal had the best known editor of the group, Edward Bok, who remained editor for almost three decades. Two editors presided over the Companion during its muckraking days: Arthur Turner Vance (1900-1907) and Frederick Lewis Collins (1907-1911).[17]

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[13] There is general agreement among historians that these 10 years were the high point of muckraking. Regier notes the movement began in 1902, became militant between 1903 to 1905 and was a force felt throughout the nation in 1906. Regier notes that it was dying down by 1908. In contrast, Weinberg puts that starting date in the same year but puts the "militant stride" at 1905 to 1906, a revitalization in 1909-1910 and an ebbing in 1911. Cornelius C. Regier, "The Balance Sheet," in Herbert Shapiro (ed.), The Muckrakers and American Society, Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1968, pp. 37-47; Weinberg, The Muckrakers, p. xvi.

[14] The Delineator and the Pictorial Review were also major magazines of this niche. However, the author did not have access to every issue of these magazines for the ten years from 1902 to 1912; and, thus, these periodicals were not included in this analysis. Every issue of McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion and Good Housekeeping for the years 1902 to 1912 were examined and read in preparation for this paper. Because several years could not be located of the Delineator and the Pictorial Review, the author did not include these magazines in the examination. The author plans to continue this work.

[15] See Helen Woodward, The Lady Persuaders, New York: Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 1960.

[16] In 1911, the magazine was acquired by Hearst, see Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol. 5: Sketches of 21 Magazines, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

These periodicals shared many similarities with the muckraking monthlies of traditional accounts. Both groups of magazines were aimed at middle-class audiences;[18] although the gender of the readership differed, the socio-economic class did not. Both types of magazines were monthlies that sold for a relatively low price.[19] Both sets of magazines had substantial circulations. In most instances, however, the circulations of women's magazines exceeded the the number of subscribers to the muckraking periodicals. In the early twentieth century, Good Housekeeping had the smallest circulation of the four woman's publications with 200,000 in 1908; McCall's had one million subscribers that same year. The Ladies' Home Journal and Woman's Home Companion jockeyed for the title of largest woman's magazine of the nation; each had a readership in excess of one million during the muckraking period. In contrast,

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[17] The Ladies' Home Journal was published by Curtis Publishing, Philadelphia. The Woman's Home Companion was the flagship for Crowell Publishing, New York.

[18] Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 25-28.

[19] The only exception to this frequency cycle was a brief period from September 1910 to May 1911 when the Ladies' Home Journal was published twice a month. McCall's sold for 50 cents per year during this period. The other periodicals sold for $1.

McClure's had a circulation of 750,000; Hampton's, 440,000; and Collier's, 500,000.[20]

This is where many of the similarities end. The muckraking of the women's magazines differed substantially from those in other publications. The differences were found in content, reporters and advocacy.

At the base of these differences lay a conservative view of women and their role in society. Each of these magazines and their editors was committed to women in their traditional sphere within the home. However, these editors contended that instead of limiting women, traditional duties and responsibilities, their sphere could be a means to empower them to reform society, which was often considered the "larger household." This was a common attitude espoused by the editors of the women's magazines--whatever the campaign. It was an attitude that was frequently repeated:

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[20] Mott, A History of American Magazines, vol.5, p. 125; Woodward, The Lady Persuaders, p. 138; Robert Cantwell, "Journalism--The Magazines," in Shapiro (ed.) The Muckrakers and American Society, p. 22.

> Women must bestir themselves to purify the city in defense of the home. They must combine to make war upon dirt and disease in the street and in the slum in the same way as they now do in the kitchen and the parlor. The town is merely an extension of the home.[21]

In general, the editors of the women's magazines did not entrust such

an essential campaign to simple journalists. The editors came to rely on the "experts" in each field being investigated. Thus, H.W. Wiley, of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture; E.H. Jenkins, vice director of the Connecticut State Agricultural Station in charge of food inspection; and Professor Samuel C. Prescott of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered exposes on food adulteration in Good Housekeeping.[22] The Woman's Home Companion called on a number of experts during its campaign to investigate and abolish child labor. These included Owen Lovejoy, field secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, John Spargo, author of The Bitter Cry of Children, and A.J. McKelway, assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. The magazine relied on experts even though the Companion had hired one of the leading investigative journalists on the subject, Rheta Childe Dorr.[23] One other journalist, Henry Harrison Lewis, was sent to Washington,D.C., to keep the magazine informed about what Congress was doing on child labor legislation nationally. Lewis may have started as a dispassionate journalist but soon took on the writing style and enthusiasm of a reform activist. Much the same could be said of Mark Sullivan, who contributed two articles on patent medicines to the Ladies' Home Journal. In those articles, Sullivan wrote with the conviction of a reformer.[24]

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[21] Rev. Walter Walsh, "Woman and the Municipality: The Need of the Domestic Ideal in Muncipal Activities," Good Housekeeping, November 1908, p. 499.

[22] See, for example, Good Housekeeping, November and December 1901

[23] Most of Dorr's reporting were incorporated into stories written by one of the experts in the field. See, for example, John Spargo, "Child Slaves in the Slums," Woman's Home Companion, July 1906, pp. 3-5, 49.

This commitment to change and improving society characterized the muckraking journalism of the women's magazine. A dispassionate recitation of scandals might be appropriate from some periodicals but certainly not for the women's monthlies. Nor were the editors of the women's magazines willing to settle simply for a journalism of "exposure." The editors expected more. In addition to the muckraking, the women's magazines offered solutions to the ills so poignantly enumerated. The solutions ranged from providing free kits to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure foods act, to individual magazines organizing national reform leagues (one to eliminate adulterated foods and another to abolish child labor), to reprinting model legislation to control patent medicines that could be adopted by individual states.[25] The solutions, however, are best seen within the context of the individual magazines and specific muckraking campaigns.

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[24] Sullivan had prepared another story for the Journal. However, Bok, who wrote most of the articles on patent medicine that appeared in the Journal, rejected the article. There are two accounts of why this was done. The first says that the story was too long. Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace, p. 105. The other contends that there were stylistic problems, that Bok found Sullivan's article "too legalistic." Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism, pp. 149-150. Both versions have Bok suggesting that Sullivan submit it to Collier's. That magazine eventually published the article.

[25] See "A Campaign for Pure Food," Good Housekeeping, October 1901, p. 338; "Anti-Slavery League," Woman's Home Companion, June 1906, p. 1; "The Pure Food League," Good Housekeeping, July 1906, pp. 49-51; Ladies' Home Journal, February 1906, pp. 1 and 20.

As noted, the muckraking of women's magazines grew out of a conservative view of the traditional roles and responsibilities of females in society.[26] Women were considered homemakers and nurturers. The muckraking of these magazines insisted, at the very least, women had to correct the problems and eliminate the corruption within their own homes. To truly remedy the ills, however, they had to look outside the home--and weed out the roots of the abuses. Women had to work together to achieve that end.

One of the first such campaigns dealt with the adulteration of the nation's food supplies. Food preparation was clearly under the purview of woman as homemaker; it also infringed upon the health and well being of the family, responsibilities of the woman as mother. Two of the women's magazines heeded the call: Good Housekeeping and the Woman's Home Companion.

Good Housekeeping entered the foray first[27] and continued its investigations well past the end of the decade of muckraking. It was natural that Good Housekeeping would declare a "war" on adulterated food,[28] given the magazine's editorial focus.

One of its first weapons in this "war" was the Good Housekeeping Institute,[29] a place to test foods and household products. As the magazine continued into a "positive" campaign[30] against adulterated foods, the Institute tested food products and issued a "Roll of Honor," a monthly list of brand name foods that had met the group's standards for purity. The magazine not only provided the monthly reports beginning in 1906 but offered annual summaries so readers could use the list as a guide to "safe" shopping.[31]

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[26] For a fuller discussion, see Ida Tarbell, The Business of Being a Woman, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1925.

[27] Mott notes that Good Housekeeping started its fight against the misrepresentation of products with an editorial entitled "Guard against Adulteration," in its Sept. 1886 issue (p. 250). See Mott, History of American Magazines, vol. 5, p. 137.

[28] A Campaign for Pure Food," Good Housekeeping, October 1901, p. 338.

[29] "The Good Housekeeping Institute," Good Housekeeping, February 1901, p. 142.

Those lists were especially helpful because Good Housekeeping often covered problems with the food supply: new preservatives that caused digestive problems, rotten food that was used in jellies, adulterated spices, coffee with few genuine ingredients and, perhaps the most reprehensible, adulterated milk.[32]

Stories were often graphic in detail. One was based on testimony before the Congressional Committee on Interstate Commerce--"every decayed, rotten, unfit apple goes into the heap. Every worm-eaten spot of an apple--every worm itself, which is found in the apple--is carefully collected into the same heap" and ground up to make jelly."[33] Story after story outlined the problems with the milk supply of the the nation. Women were reminded that "Dirty cows mean...manure in the milk." Formaldehyde was used as a preservative in some milk. Although never designed as a food additive, it was used in milk to delay the spoiling process. "By this means [formaldehyde] even in the most sultry weather the milk and cream keep sweet even for several days." Yet this came at a price, the author warned, "digestive organs suffer in silence."[34]

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[30] Good Housekeeping bemoaned much of the sensationalism of the muckraking of adulterated food and vowed to take a different tack. "The literature of exposure has set forth sensational tales of adulteration, substitution, sophistication, fraud and criminality in food products until the average person is in despair as to what to eat." Good Housekeeping decided to take a positive approach via a "Pure Food Assurance" column with stories about pure foods available for sale. Herbert Myrick, "Our Great Constructive Policy," Good Housekeeping, May 1906, pp. 524-527.

[31] See, for example, Good Housekeeping, "Roll of Honor," January 1906, p. 69; February 1906, p. 187, and March 1906, pp. 303-304 and "Our Annual Round Up of Good Foods," August 1906, pp. 151-153.

[32] H.W. Wiley, "Injurious Food Adjuncts," Good Housekeeping, November 1901, pp. 388-389; "Food Adulteration," October 1902, pp. 258-259; "Quality and Purity of Spices," April 1906, p. 440; and Joseph Adams,"Certified Milk and other Forms," July 1906, pp. 44-48.

[33] "Food Adulteration," Good Housekeeping, October 1902, p. 259.

Many of the scientists writing for Good Housekeeping did not have as much flair for the sensationalism. Nonetheless, their reports emphasized the problems in the food supplies of the day. For example, E.H. Jenkins of the Connecticut State Agricultural Station, warned formaline and borax had been added to food, particularly among products that did not carry the name of the manufacturer or the place of origin on the package. A "Consulting Food Chemist" R.O. Brooks found problems with spices and flavoring extracts. Of the 62 brands tested, only 26 were pure. Some of the brands of vanilla extract were adulterated with wood alcohol.[35] Unfortunately, as Brooks and others writing for Good Housekeeping reminded readers, the Pure Food and Drug Act covered only foods transported across state lines. Much of the adulterated food, including the vanilla extract studied, had been produced and sold within the state.

Clearly, then, there were abuses in the food supply that needed to be corrected. Good Housekeeping saw it had two types of readers:

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[34] "The Price of Clean Milk," Good Housekeeping, February 1908, p. 149 and H. W. Wiley, "Injurious Food Adjunct," Good Housekeeping, January 1902, pp. 22-25.

[35] E.H. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," Good Housekeeping, December 1901, pp. 474-475, and R.O. Brooks, "Quality of Flavoring Extracts," Good Housekeeping, November 1906, pp. 526-528.

ones interested solely in the protection of their families; the others concerned about protecting their families through work in the community (the "larger household") and correcting the ill.

The women who opted for a "private" battle against food adulteration could find comfort in Good Housekeeping's "Roll of Honor" and the magazine's assurance that its advertisers offered wholesome products.[36] The magazine offered additional advice as well. Experts told readers how to shop. Women should not buy a grocer's spices, extracts or coffee, because there was no assurance that those products were pure.[37] Indeed, she should avoid all products without a brand name. They should buy only the more expensive, "certified" milk. Since many dairy men were fraudulently using the "certified" label, the magazine offered a list of dairies producing pure milk.[38]

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[36] In an early report on its seal of approval, which began appeared in April 1902, Good Housekeeping reported that only two advertisers had been thrown out of the magazine and purchase money refunded by the magazine to the buyers. "Our Guarantee," Good Housekeeping, August 1903, p. 386.

[37] In a related campaign at a slightly later period, in 1907 and 1908 in the Companion and at various points during the muckraking decade in Good Housekeeping, writers uncovered the unsanitary conditions in some of the grocery stories of the day. In one story in the Companion, an unidentified writer reported that s/he found 10 dead flies in a pound of packaged sugar, a cigarette stub in a pound of tapioca and two cockroaches in a pint of pickles. See "Keeping the Bins Closed," Woman's Home Companion, December 1907, pp. 23-25. See, also, "Why is the Grocer Clean?" Woman's Home Companion, February 1908, p. 13. In one story in Good Housekeeping, Lilian Tingle reported the unsanitary conditions in the candy room, where children made their little purchases. See Lilian Tingle, "Clean Market Day in Portland," Good Housekeeping, July 1908, pp. 99-102. See also Aaron Coolidge Dowse, "On the Choice of a Grocer," Good Housekeeping, July 1903, pp. 32-34.

[38] E.H. Jenkins, "Adulterated Food Products and How to Avoid Them," Good Housekeeping, December 1901, pp. 474-475; "Sources of Certified Milk," Good Housekeeping, June 1907, pp. 634-635; "Pure Food Assurance: A Positive Guide to the Choice of Healthful Food Preparations," Good Housekeeping, November 1905, pp. 531-534.

The women, who were willing to take the pure food campaign into the streets, into the halls of Congress, into the state legislatures, into the "larger household," promised to bring lasting improvements to the food supply of the nation.[39] These women looked to Good Housekeeping for a blueprint for reform. As early as 1901, the magazine offered free "kits" to help women mobilize public opinion in favor of a national pure food law. In 1906, the magazine formed "The Pure Food League" to push for a Pure Food Act nationally and on the state level.

> The plain, unvarnished truth is this: all kinds of influence are being used in Washington to defeat any food legislation.. Not content with this, the patent medicine fakirs and food adulterators seek to eliminate all food investigations from the U.S. department of agriculture.

The league could correct this. Its members (women) had "the numbers, time, disposition, knowledge, energy and power to enforce their demands."[40]

The Pure Food and Drug Act did not turn out to be the final solution Good Housekeeping expected. The magazine continued to monitor how the law was "steadily undermined." The Department of Agriculture had lost much of its subpoena and investigative powers. "Certain food, liquor and drug interests have been persistently at work....,sapping and mining, until the very walls of this hard-built structure threaten to crumble." Women had to step in again, this time through the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the

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[39] Mrs. Ella Morris Kretschner, "The Higher Life," Good Housekeeping, October 1902, pp. 223-224.

[40] "The Pure Food League," Good Housekeeping, July 1906, pp. 49-50. See also "Workings of the Pure Food Law," Good Housekeeping, February 1907, p. 188.

National Consumers League to continue to pressure on the law and its integrity.[41] This monitoring continued into the 1920s. In 1912, H.W. Wiley, a chemist from the Department of Agriculture who had been credited with being the "Father" of the Pure Food and Drug Act, joined Good Housekeeping as a columnist.

Compared to Good Housekeeping, the Woman's Home Companion came relatively late to the muckraking of adulterated foods. Nonetheless, this campaign represented the Companion's introduction to muckraking.

Henry Irving Dodge was the Companion's investigative journalist on food. His three-part series appeared in 1905. Most of the findings in this expose had already appeared in Good Housekeeping. Nonetheless, the Companion's series was important because it reached more than five times as many women.

Dodge prepared his work with the cooperation of Dr. W.D. Bigelow, chief of the Division of Foods for the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry and reported the results of that agency's laboratory tests. "Old reliable coffee" had not a single coffee bean. Milk had been poisoned by formaldehyde. Dodge estimated that in New York alone 10,976 cases of infant death could be traced to poisoned milk.[42] Yet, Congress did not act. Clearly something had to be done; and, according to Dodge, women had to do it. Women had to contact editors and tell them to cover this story. Women also needed to apply political pressure.

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[41] "Pure Food Betrayed," Good Housekeeping, September 1910, pp. 318-319 and "The National Food Scandal," Good Housekeeping, November 1911, pp. 720-721. "Debauching the Label," Good Housekeeping, October 1910, pp. 490-491.

[42] Henry Irving Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," Woman's Home Companion, March 1905, pp. 6-9, 53.

> Women of the United States, remember that every man who draws pay from the public is your servant. Do not request, but instruct, your assemblyman to vote for no man for the United States Senate who will not pledge himself to protect the vitality of your baby by voting--aye, working--for the Pure-Food Bill.[43]

This, alone, was a reason for women to have the vote. Although the Companion did not editorially support female suffrage in its muckraking days, Dodge still pushed for the issue:

> Mothers of the land, here's something on which to base a campaign for suffrage. No abstraction this. If babies aren't a living issue, than in the name of God what is? You have demanded of the men an accounting of their stewardship, and the millions of tiny mounds throughout the country are your answer. They are poisoning your children. It is you who must come to the rescue. Look at the white face and undeveloped calf of your baby, and ask yourself whence came this travesty of man? Poisoned milk! Poisoned milk! Like a warning from the watch-tower: "Murder! Fire!! Stop, thief!!' the epitome of all the crimes in the calendar is that terrible crime, "Poisoned milk!"[44]

Although The Ladies' Home Journal was not involved in the investigation of adulterated food, its muckraking into another issue helped bring about the same legislation--the Pure Food and Drug Act. The Journal's campaign against the "patent medicine curse" was the best known of the muckraking in any of the woman's magazines.[45]

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[43] Henry Irving Dodge, "The Remedy: 'Call a Spade a Spade,'" Woman's Home Companion, May 1905, p. 49.

[44] Dodge, "The Truth About Food Adulteration," March 1904, p. 53.

[45] It was not, however the Journal's only muckraking. Bok and the Journal also did some stories about the problems associated with the ignorance about sex and urged readers to be more forthcoming with their children. "In an

However, the Journal was not alone in its niche in uncovering the "evils" of the patent medicine nostrums. Good Housekeeping also carried stories about the content of patent medicines.[46] However, this campaign took a secondary position to food adulteration.

Both magazines extensively covered the problem from 1904 to 1906, when the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed.[47] Both had the freedom to do so because neither accepted patent medicine advertising. The Journal carried the greater number of stories and devoted the more editorial space of the two to uncovering the abuses of the patent medicine industry.

Editor Edward Bok wrote most of the stories; and while clearly he was reporting facts, the largest number of these articles appeared on the Journal's editorial page. One of the first stories on the issue appeared in the May 1904 in an editorial, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," and accompanying sidebar on the alcohol content of various

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Editorial Way," Ladies' Home Journal, October 1906, p. 51 ; Charles W. Eliot, "The Policy of Silence," Ladies' Home Journal, June 1911, pp. 6, 63; Rev. Arthur C. Hall, "My Reasons for Believing that Mothers Should Speak Out," Ladies' Home Journal, June 1911, pp. 6, 63. He also dealt with some of the problems associated with venereal disease. "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal, September 1908, p. 1. The magazine also covered the problems associated with the public drinking cup. See, for example, Bok, "How She Proved a 'Fad,'" Ladies' Home Journal, November 1911, p. 6.

[46] Good Housekeeping also sent its reporter Cora Reese into the urban schools to investigate the conditions there. See "Perils of Pittsburg Schools," Good Housekeeping, December 1908, pp. 45-49; "Those Washington Schools," July 1909, pp.116a-b; "Chicago's School Buildings: Danger Spots in the Vast School System," February 1910, pp. 208-215; "St. Louis School Buildings: A Searching Study of Their Defects," April 1910, pp. 485-493; 'Cincinnati Schools," May 1910, pp. 610-615. The magazine also carried stories on the TB peril.
Lilian Brandt, "Woman's War on the White Plague," January 1906, pp. 118-120.

[47] The Journal's first story on the topic appeared as an open letter to the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, urging them not to advertise patent medicines on their barns and fences. However, the investigations into the content of the patent medicines and the business dealings of those companies did not begin until 1904. Edward Bok, "How Women Can Be Good Americans," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1903, p. 16.

brands of patent medicine. The results were startling. Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters had 47.5 percent alcohol; Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, 44.3 percent; Boker's Stomach Bitters, 42.6 percent; Parker's Tonic, "purely vegetable," 41.6 percent. Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound had relatively little--20.6 percent.[48]

Bok saw a real problem. Women were doctoring themselves and their families with dangerous alcoholic nostrums. Temperance women were turning to "bitters" to cure their sluggishness. Pregnant women used "Doctor Pierce's Favorite Prescription, which contained digitalis, opium, oil of anise and alcohol (17 percent).[49] Bok admonished his readers,

> No woman has a moral right to give a medicine to her child, or to any member of her family, or to take any medicine herself, the ingredients of which either she does not know or has not the assurance of a responsible physician to be harmless.[50]

Bok not only revealed the exact percentages of alcohol in certain medicines, but he also uncovered unethical business practices of the patent medicine manufacturers. Letters, written by women in the "strictest confidence" to doctors at patent medicine manufactories, were read at these establishments, made light of, shared and sold. Bok explained that each letter went through at least eight different sets of hands (none of which was the doctor's) before a reply was sent,

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[48] "The Alcohol of Patent Medicines," Ladies' Home Journal, May 1904, p. 18.

[49] Dr. V. Mott Pierce sued Curtis Publishing for $200,000 for that article. The Journal lost that case in court and had to pay $16,000 in damages. It seems that Pierce had changed his formula. The Journal's listing had the contents of the earlier formula. In July, the Journal had to run a correction and reported that Pierce's medicine no longer carried digitalis, opium and alcohol. " The mistake was honestly made, but it was a mistake." Edward Bok, "Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription: A Retraction," Ladies' Home Journal, July 1904, p. 18. See also Steinberg, Reformer in the Marketplace, pp. 102-103.

[50] Edward Bok, "The 'Patent Medicine' Curse," Ladies' Home Journal, May 1904, p. 18.

> **...and if there is anything 'spicy' you will see the heads of two or three girls get together and enjoy (!) the 'spice.' Very often these 'spicy bits' are taken home and shown to their friends and families of these girls and men!**[51]

The letters as well as the names and addresses of the correspondents were sold to other patent medicine companies--or any one else who wanted to buy them. One letter broker offered 44,000 "Bust and Developer" letters and 40,000 "Women's Regulator" letters. The Journal even rented three classes of letters: "Bust Developers," "'Secret' Against Motherhood" and "Female Complaints." The magazine did not reprint any of these letters, although Bok reported that many were "heart-breaking."[52]

Even when a woman did receive a response to her "confidential" letter, she could not trust the advice. The response was merely a form letter. Nor could she trust the accompanying medicine. "The medicines are put up by young girls who are constantly making mistakes and sending men's remedies to women, and vice versa. They can't do otherwise because they have to send out a certain number of treatments in a given time."[53]

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[51] Edward Bok, "How the Private Confidences of Women are Laughed At," Ladies' Home Journal, November 1904, p. 18. Bold face is in the original.

[52] Mark Sullivan, "Did Mr. Bok Tell the Truth?", Ladies' Home Journal, January 1906, p. 18
and Edward Bok, "I Write You in Absolute Confidence," Ladies' Home Journal, March 1909, p. 1.

[53] Sullivan, "Did Mr. Bok Tell the Truth?" January 1906, p. 18.

Nor could the testimonials be trusted. A number had not even tried the medicine and allowed the companies to use their name for money. Others did not know their names had been used. A few were honest testimonials but could these really be trusted? "It stands to reason that no woman of the slightest judgment or taste or self-respect would allow this for a moment; hence those who allow such a gross violation of a woman's modesty hardly, to say the least, belong to the class whose word counts for much!"[54]

Bok saw women as the solution to the patent medicine "curse." They had to work for change. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, a group already organized throughout the nation, was the solution to problem, Bok argued. However, this group was not immediately ready to carry out a campaign. Indeed, many WCTU members did not even see dangers associated with the medicines. Some used "bitters"; others allowed patent medicine advertising to be printed on their barns and fences.[55]

By 1906, Bok, who never editorially supported female suffrage, urged women to work for state legislation to protect the "safety of yourself and your child" and label the contents of patent medicines. He anticipated opposition from newspapers who stood to lose so much advertising revenue. But women had to overcome this and get legislators to introduce the model legislation that Bok printed in the magazine. He saw no conflict between his stance on suffrage and the lobbying he recommended. Working to control patent medicines was a mother's duty.

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[54] Mark Sullivan, "Th Inside Story of a Sham," Ladies' Home Journal, January 1906, p. 14.

[55] Edward Bok, "A Few Words to the W.C.T.U.," Ladies' Home Journal, September 1904, p. 18 and Bok, "How Women Can Be Good Americans," July 1903, p. 16.

> A mother's right in this [to know what is in medicines] supercedes all other rights. In her hands sometimes rests the life which she is caring for, and everything that can be made easy and single and plain to such a woman should be made so. And the law should see to it that the right is given to every mother.[56]

Thus, Bok blended muckraking journalism with personal appeals to women as mothers to carry on a war against patent medicines. Good Housekeeping made similar appeals. The magazine carried lists of medicines with high alcohol content. Some were the same as the Journal's; others were different: Atwood's LaGrippe Specific; Cuban Gingeric; Dewitt's Stomach Bitters; Rock Candy Cough Cure. Even the Pure Food and Drug Act could not completely protect the American mother from abuses. Good Housekeeping continued to warn about the deadly products for babies that contained opium, morphine, heroin, codeine, chloroform and chloral hydrate. Medicines weren't the only threat. Even cosmetics, which were not covered by the Pure Food and Drug Act, contained dangerous additives. Kinthe's Beauty Cream contained mercury; Berry's Freckle Ointment had zinc oxide, and Madame Uceline's Face Bleach had a corrosion sublimate.[57]

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[56] Edward Bok, "For the Safety of Yourself and Your Child," Ladies' Home Journal, February 1906, p. 1. Edward Bok, "To You: A Personal Word," Ladies' Home Journal, February 1906, p. 20.

[57] "Notes on Progress," Good Housekeeping, February 1906, pp. 186-187; Emmett Campbell Hall, "Deadly Drugs and Beverages," Good Housekeeping, November 1910, pp. 582-584, and Anne Lewis Pierce, "Short Cuts to Beauty," Good Housekeeping, September 1912, pp. 397-398.

The patent medicine campaign grew out of women's traditional roles as nurturer and mother. The muckraking of child labor that appeared in women's magazines grew out of the same traditional impulses. This was the campaign most closely associated with the Woman's Home Companion. The Companion's coverage started in 1906 and continued into the next year. Almost an entire year was devoted to pointing out the evils of child labor and ridding the nation of the corruption.

The Companion took a slightly different tack from the Journal and Good Housekeeping in its investigation of child labor. Not only did the magazine carry investigative stories and editorials (as the other magazines did) but it also added fiction, photography and illustration to the muckraking campaign.

The child labor topic was introduced in the May 1906 issue; it gathered momentum until it reached a crescendo with the September edition, the "child labor number," and continued into 1907 with a regular child labor column. The campaign was long and intense because the magazine was out to end the abuse. "THE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION **is going to stop this evil**. Not talk about it, preach about it, not portray the horrors of it, and then drop it."[58] The contributors to the campaign read like a who's who of child labor activism: John Spargo, author of The Bitter Cry of the Children; Owen P. Lovejoy and A.J. McKelway, of the National Child Labor Committee, and Sen. Albert J. Beveridge, a Progressive and early convert to the anti-child labor platform. In preparing their stories, these activists used not only the resources of the Companion but drew on their own experiences as well as the expertise of their colleagues in the reform. Generally, the investigative journalism was of two sorts: stories that outlined the working conditions (including pay schedules); and those that took a look at the home conditions of these children. In both instances, writers emphasized that these conditions dehumanized children.

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[58] Woman's Home Companion, May 1906, p. 1.

The contributors to the Companion wrote of the hundreds of thousands of children, some even under the age of eight, who were forced to work, making artificial flowers, candles, paper bags and clothing. Some worked in the mines as "breaker boys." Nonetheless, they all shared two things: inhumane conditions and slave wages. John Spargo provided these wages for New York child garment workers: men's trousers, 12-1/2 cents each; boys knee pants, 50 cents per dozen; neckties, $1.25 per gross; women's wrappers, 49 cents per dozen, and silk waists, 98 cents per dozen.

These children were also physically abused in the workplace. Foremen threw cold water on sleeping children or prodded them with sticks. "But even worse than the voluntary cruelty of the taskmaster is the inexorable cruelty of the disease breeding, life-destroying, existence these children must lead,"[59] Spargo wrote.

The next month Spargo continued his emotional reports with accounts of individual families forced to rely on the labor of their children to survive. The widow Rose Goldberg of New York sent four of her six children (all under 12) to work making paper bags. No one reported the children to the truant officer for four years. Spargo also incorporated reports of Rheta Child Dorr. Italian Angelina Caspero, 10, wanted to go to school to learn to read and write but could not because she had to sew.[60]

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[59] John Spargo, "The Great Army of Child Slaves, Woman's Home Companion, June 1906, pp. 7-8.

Tragedy seemed to follow these children. Sweat shops bred disease and children soon fell ill. Others were injured in industrial accidents. Nora Mahoney, a pseudonym for a girl working in Parke's Woolen Mill in Philadelphia, had her "arm chewed up in the machinery." The machine was not stopped; the company did not call an ambulance; she had to walk home before getting medical assistance. The "breaker boys" were also maimed and killed on the job. Working for such companies as the Philadelphia & Reading Coal and Iron Co., the Lehigh Valley Coal Co., Thomas Coal Co., W and R. McTurk Coal Co., Rover Run Coal Co.,, Parish Coal Co., Pennsylvania Coal Co., Erie Coal and Iron Co., and Delaware & Hudson Coal Co., some 12,000 boys between the ages of 9 and 14 worked as coal breakers in the anthracite fields. As was the case with many of the children discussed in the Companion, the authors did not use real names but the details were accurate. Peter Swamberg, who was pictured, lost his arm when he was 16. Joe Bartuskey, 9, was "blown to bits" in an accident three months before the magazine was published. Many of these children were illiterate, having only one or two years of formal education. The "breaker boys" were supposed to be protected by Pennsylvania state law that prohibited anyone under 14 from working as a breaker, but the law was weak and badly enforced.[61]

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[60] John Spargo, "Child Slaves of the Slums," Woman's Home Companion, July 1906, pp. 3-5, 49.

[61] Spargo, "Child Slaves of the Slums," pp. 4-5; Viola Roseboro and Marie Best, "Nora Mahoney--a Human Document: A True Story of Child Slavery in Philadelphia," Woman's Home Companion, August 1906, pp. 3-4; Owen P.

The Companion did not stop with investigative journalism. The magazine's anti-child labor campaign spilled over into cartoons by the well known artist Homer Davenport, photography of dirty, undernourished children and fiction.[62]

Like the other magazines, the Companion made appeals to traditional roles and responsibilities to urge women to get involved with a campaign to rid the nation of child labor. Under this reasoning, the mother--as the natural protector of the child--had the responsibility to mold public opinion and lead the community away from child labor. One of the ways women could do this was by joining the Children's Anti- Slavery League, a reform organization sponsored by the magazine. The magazine regularly carried membership blanks and processed all applications for the group.[63]

The connection between the traditional roles and responsibilities of women and muckraking makes the content of McCall's puzzling. Good Housekeeping, Ladies' Home Journal and Woman's Home Companion all did muckraking; they were driven by conservative impulses and traditional concerns as they urged their

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Lovejoy, "In the Shadow of the Coal Breaker," Woman's Home Companion, September 1906, pp. 9-11.

[62] Homer Davenport, illustrations, Woman's Home Companion, September 1906, pp. 28-29; photography associated with Lovejoy, "In the Shadown of the Coal-Breaker," Woman's Home Companion, September 1906, pp. 9-11 and A.J. McKelway, "How the Fight for the Children was Won in Georgia," Woman's Home Companion, October 1906, pp. 18-19- 21. See, Jack London, "The Apostate," Woman's Home Companion, September 1906, pp. 5-7, 49. His main character, a child laborer, ended up as a "twisted and stunted and nameless piece of life that shambled, stoop-shouldered, narrow-chested, grotesque and terrible," see p. 49.

[63] This group later merged with the National Child Labor Committee but the Companion continued to campaign against Child Labor. Samuel McCune Lindsay, "Woman's Share in the New Child Labor Program," Woman's Home Companion, December 1906, p. 16 and "A Thanksgiving Proclamation," Woman's Home Companion, November 1906, p. 24.

readers into the "larger household" to correct the ills associated with their sphere. McCall's was a competitor in the woman's publishing niche. Yet it never ventured into muckraking. The "Queen of Fashion" failed to provide any investigative journalism. The nonfiction published tended to be light reading and almost run counter to the muckraking of its competition. McCall's ran stories of hobbies of millionaires, including John D. Rockefeller, how to stories, and employment advice.[64] The closest McCall's came to muckraking was a brief story on how poor children often had to look after younger brothers and sisters while their mothers worked.[65]

Why, then, the difference?

During the muckraking period, McCall's did sell for less than the other periodicals in its niche.[66] However, there was little to suggest that McCall's was aimed at women of a different economic group. The fashions illustrated, which represented much of the editorial content of the magazine, were clearly aimed at women of at least a middle class. Nor was the magazine published in a location where female activism was unknown. McCall's was published in New York and its editors were located there.

However, McCall's--by not containing muckraking--stood out in its niche. Thus, McCall's became an alternative for women who might not be interested in reading about patent medicines, child labor, adulterated foods, unsafe conditions in the schools,[67] unsanitary conditions in the grocery stores,[68] venereal disease[69] and the other campaigns of Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion or Good Housekeeping covered.

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[64] Brunson Clarke, "Pastimes of the Well-known Millionaires," McCall's, August 1905, pp. 932-934; "How to Bow," McCall's, April 1903, p. 586; and "The Business Woman's Sensible Advice for the Girl Who Has to Earn Her Own Living," McCall's, October 1905, p. 110..

[65] Mrs. Oliver Bell Bunce, "The Story of the Little Mothers," McCall's, December 1905, pp. 318-319.

[66] McCall's sold for 50 cents a year.

These three magazines were important vehicles for muckraking in the early twentieth century. Their importance can be seen on three levels. First, these three publications brought a number of abuses to light. Thus, just for their journalism of "exposure," these periodicals deserve a place in the history of muckraking. However, their contributions extended beyond "exposure." These publications also offered practical solutions for eliminating some of the ills within the home and offered a blueprint for reform for work outside it. The Journal, the Companion and Good Housekeeping accomplished this in a variety of ways, either by urging pre-existing women's groups to correct the ill or by organizing their own reform leagues to remedy the situation. Thus, the Ladies' Home Journal urged the WCTU to make patent medicines part of its campaign to control alcoholic beverages and Good Housekeeping suggested that the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers League keep track of the abuses that followed the passage of the Hepburn Act. Suggestions and editorials were not enough for Good Housekeeping and Woman's Home Companion. These two magazines converted their editorial convictions into action when they created the Pure Food League and the Children's Anti-Slavery League.

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[67] See, for example, Cora Reese, "Chicago's School Buildings: Danger Spots in the Vast School System," Good Housekeeping, February 1910, pp. 208-215.

[68] "Keeping the Bins Closed," Woman's Home Companion, December 1907, pp. 23-25.

[69] Bok, "The Editor's Personal Page," Ladies' Home Journal , September 1908, p. 1.

Finally, these three publications crafted an argument which would ring throughout the Progressive Movement: women had a right, indeed a duty, to correct the ills of society, the "larger household."

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The Obsession with Thinness in the Ballet World: An Analysis of How Dance Magazine Addresses the Issue

by

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The Obsession with Thinness in the Ballet World: An Analysis of How Dance Magazine Addresses the Issue

Introduction

A serious problem exists among young females in America who see excessive thinness as the ultimate goal to achieve. Studies have been done involving the way in which the media reinforce excessive thinness as being society's ideal body type for women. One study by Linda L. Smith explored the idea that media images influence women's acceptance of thin, even distorted, body images: "Everything around us tells us that thinness is not only desirable, but crucial to social, sexual, even professional success. Constant policing of our food intake--dieting--therefore seems essential."(Smith, 3) Another study by Lori Drake and Wayne M. Tower concluded that young women with bulimia seem to read more traditionally "female" magazines than non-bulimics.(Drake & Tower, 9)

Smith focused on advertising as the reinforcing factor of the problem while Drake and Tower studied reading habits of bulimic undergraduate women. Neither looked at a specific profession and its approach to thinness, as seen through its most influential publication. Yet in some professions the emphasis is on thinness as a criterion for success.

Modelling is an example of one industry which has been criticized for overemphasizing excessive thinness. The September 20, 1993 issue of People magazine (see Appendix 1) featured model Kate Moss on the cover; the copy on the cover read, "Skin and Bones: Supermodel Kate Moss is the ultrathin symbol of the underfed waif look. Is a dangerous message being sent to weight obsessed teens?" The article looked at the recent "waif" phenomenon and concluded that, while many young girls would like to be as thin as Moss, most will not become anorexic as a direct reaction to seeing the model.(Lague, 80) Dr. Michael Strober seemed to encapsulate the underlying problem in the following quote: "A women becomes anorexic because her soul has been battered by unreasonable expectations that you can never be too thin and that fat--any fat--equals failure."(Lague, 74)

The ballet world is another profession whose dancers have an obsession with thinness which drives them into life-threatening eating disorders. David M. Garner and Paul E. Garfinkel looked at both ballet and modelling students to see if there was a higher instance of anorexia in these groups as compared to a normal control group and to music students (a competitive group whose success does not focus on their weight). Students were interviewed about their eating attitudes and the study found that both the modelling and dance students had a higher number of girls diagnosed with anorexia than the other two groups. The modelling group had four cases of anorexia diagnosed, while the dance group had a staggering twelve cases diagnosed.(Garner & Garfinkel, 650) The question must be posed: Is the problem in the dance world being ignored despite the fact that the instance of eating disorders in the above study was more than twice the number found in the much criticized modelling industry? Are the dance trade magazines dealing with the issue or ignoring it?

A respected magazine in the dance world is Dance Magazine. With a circulation of 51,000, and a readership of 200,000, some have called it "the dancer's Bible."(Dance Magazine Press Kit, 1993) It seems that the magazine has much influence over the dance world. How does the magazine address the issue of the obsession with thinness in the dance world? This paper looks at both the history of the premiere magazine in the dance world and how it has dealt with the occupational hazard of excessive thinness.

The History of Dance Magazine and Ballet in America

The roots of Dance Magazine began in June 1927, when Ruth Eleanor Howard started a magazine called the American Dancer. The magazine was initially produced in Hollywood, California. It was 40 pages long and cost 25 cents. The focus of the magazine was on the needs of the dance teacher. The dedication of the first issue was to "those who love the dance." The magazine declared that it represented an awakening of America's artistic soul.(Dance, 17)

Howard had two goals in mind for her new magazine: one was to offer the reader the highest quality dance photography, and the other was to publish the work of the best writers and critics working in the field.

In 1933, Howard moved the magazine's headquarters from Hollywood to Carnegie Hall in New York City. She felt that New York was the dance capital of the world and that to better serve her readers she needed to be close to it.(Dance, 17)

Paul Milton held the position of editor of American Dancer between the years of 1933 and 1936. He then left American Dancer to begin his own publication titled Dance, which differed from Howard's magazine in that it focused on covering professional dance as an art form.(Dance, 17)

While Milton was setting up his new magazine, American Dancer became the official publication of the Dance Masters of America. Dance Masters is the largest dance instructor's association in America, with clubs and branches all over the United States. Dance Masters was formed in 1926, one year before American Dancer, from a merging of two older teaching associations. Dance Masters holds summer conventions where teachers from all over the country come to learn new dancing and instructing techniques.(Chujoy, 471)

It could be said that 1942 is the true beginning of Dance Magazine, because that is the year in which Rudolph Orthwine acquired both Dance and American Dancer and combined the two to form Dance Magazine. Orthwine wished to buy the two magazines in order to combine their subscription lists and double the circulation. This plan failed because he found that both magazines shared many of the same subscribers. However, it did result in one significant publication to serve the dance world.

One of the things which stands out about the history of Dance Magazine is the tremendous dedication that the employees have. Many of the publishers and editors worked there until their death, and many of their staff writers have worked at the magazine for long periods of time (see Appendix 2). The fact that the employees stay at the magazine for decades may explain the sense of history that one gets from reading this magazine. While Dance Magazine focuses on the current events and issues occurring in the dance world, there is at least one article per issue which looks back on events which shaped the history of dance. One issue may have an article on the life of Martha Graham, while another article will cover changes in dance techniques over the past years.

In the sixtieth anniversary issue (June 1987), William Como (served as editor from 1970-1989) said, "We at Dance Magazine have honored and chronicled the history of dance from its beginnings to the present, offering our readers insights into the earliest exponents of ballet and modern dance through the generations that followed."(Como, 50) He discussed the diverse types of dance that the magazine has covered: ethnic dance, dance in the classroom, dance in film, and dance on the Broadway stage.

Also in this issue, Como announced that Dance Magazine would be changing its logo. "The name states our foremost concern: dance in all its glorious diversity."(Logo, 23) The logo was changed from the title "Dance Magazine" in one line across the top of the cover, to "DANCE" in large, bold letters with the word "Magazine" written in smaller letters in the upper right corner.

Arts critic Clive Barnes wrote an article for Dance Magazine which may be insightful as to why the magazine has such a strong link to the past. His article illustrated the history of ballet as a series of "booms" which have brought the art to its present level of popularity. He also said that the history of dance and the history of this magazine run parallel.(Barnes, 88)

"Progress is shaped by events, and events are influenced by personalities," Barnes said. This quote relates to Dance Magazine's coverage of the history of dance because the magazine often features profiles which "reveal the creators of dance...their human and artistic sensibilities."(Como, 50)

Barnes said that 1927, the beginning year for American Dancer, is a good year to use as a significant date in American ballet history. In 1926 Martha Graham established the first permanent U.S. dance company. In 1928 Doris Humphrey left Denishawn to join Charles Weidman.(Barnes, 88) Denishawn was a dance school based in Los

Angeles which had a troupe of dancers who travelled around America performing opulent ballets.(Chujoy, 146) Humphrey and Weidman left this school to form a school and company for modern dance.(Chujoy, 253)

The New York Times hired its first full-time dance critic in 1927. Barnes said that the increasing popularity of dance in recent years can be seen by the fact that from 1927 to 1965, there was only one dance critic on the staff of the Times. When Barnes was appointed to the job in 1965, his first assignment was to hire another, second string, critic to help him. By 1967, the Times had three critics who wrote daily dance reviews, which reflects the growing amount of attention dance was receiving.

The next important year in the history of dance is 1933, a year in which two men influenced the future of dance. The first man was Sol Hurok, who brought the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo to New York for the first time. This event sparked an era of Balletomania, society's "ballet fever."(Barnes, 90) The other man was Lincoln Kirstein, who met George Balanchine at a cocktail party in London on July 11, 1933. Balanchine was the choreographer for a small company called Les Ballets, and Kirstein admired his work. The men met twice more and Kirstein convinced Balanchine to come to America to help him start a company. They decided to form a school first, to train the American dancers in the proper way. The result was the School of the American Ballet, America's best ballet school today.(Dunning, 15-17) These two events began the big "boom" for dance in America.

The following events led to a "postwar boom" from 1946 to 1960. "The Red Shoes," a movie starring the ballerina Moira Shearer, opened in 1948. This movie brought ballet to a larger audience than the theater productions did, and it helped ballet to gain credibility. In 1959 the Bolshoi Ballet, one of Russia's two major companies, came to New York for the first time.(Barnes, 92)

America has two major ballet companies as well. One is a result of the School of the American Ballet, which changed its name from the Ballet Society to New York City Ballet in 1948. The other major company is American Ballet Theater, which made its first international tour to London in 1946.

The next boom, from 1960 to the present, came with the spread of ballet from New York westward, all the way to San Francisco. Ballet schools and companies have established themselves in all of the major cities of America: Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Houston, Dallas, and Washington, D.C. America was training more dancers than Russia. Another contribution to this boom was the defection of Russian superstars like Natalia Makarova, Rudolph Nureyev, and Mikhail Baryshnikov.(Barnes, 94)

Many of the people and events which led to the popularity of dance have been, and still are, featured in the pages of Dance Magazine. For example, the Annual Dance Magazine Award has been given annually to the people "who have made important contributions to dance in the twentieth century."("Annual," 124) Among the winners have been Moira Shearer (1955), Martha Graham (1957), Sol Hurok (1966), Rudolph Nureyev (1973), and Doris Hering (1987).

In addition to its sense of history, Dance Magazine also focuses on the present. Every issue is filled with reviews, international and national dance news, advice to dancers and teachers, feature articles on companies and leading dancers, educational and technical materials for dance training, future performance dates, as well as information on upcoming seminars, and auditions. Every summer a schedule of dance events is published. Every issue also contains book and television reviews of new material about dance. The media kit for Dance Magazine sums up its impact: "Dance Magazine is in touch with its readers on many levels and has been called the dancer's bible."(Dance Magazine Rate Card from Press Kit, 1993)

The magazine is aimed primarily at "today's dance participant." This includes professional dancers and students, as well as dance enthusiasts. Dance enthusiasts are non-dancers who are interested in learning about and watching dance. For these people, Dance Magazine offers a lesson on the history of dance, and serves as a source of information about the dance world. Teachers are another audience. Articles about new teaching techniques, comparisons of various dance styles, and announcements about upcoming teaching seminars satisfy these readers.

Dance students' needs are met by the magazine in a number of ways. The audition announcements, advice column (called "Personal You"), and interviews with up and coming dancers satisfy this audience. Dance Magazine seems to be paying more attention to this third audience in the past two years. In July 1992, a "Young Dancer's Supplement" was added which focuses on the problems of dance students who are trying to succeed. The magazine has also started an advice column where dancers can have their questions answered. While dancers of all ages can write in, the section is dominated by the questions and concerns of dancers in their teens. One should note, though, that in the dance world, girls become professionals at 16-19 years of age and most retire by age 40. Rarely do men write in to this column.

At 58,283, Dance Magazine boasts the largest circulation of any magazine in the field of dance; it is ten times larger than any other dance publication. Dance Magazine has a pass-along rate of 4.1 people, so its readership is roughly 240,000 readers a month.(SRDS, 196) There is a large group of readers who are young: 44% are under the age of 25, while 25% are under 18. The median age for Dance Magazine readers is 32.4 years old; 92.3% of the total readers are women. It is interesting to note that the majority of the readers are single (52.9%) as opposed to married (38.7%) and the majority are college graduates (70%).(Dance Magazine Press Kit, 1993)

The majority of readers subscribe to the magazine (87.3%), while 12.7% buy it at the newsstand. A one-year subscription to the magazine is $29.95, while the monthly newsstand price is $3.95. Many dance schools use the pages of Dance Magazine to reach new dancers; currently 6,509 dance schools advertise in this magazine.(Dance Magazine Press Kit, 1993) The demographic distribution rates for 1991 show that the Middle Atlantic states buy the magazine most often (14.8%), the Pacific states buy 12.4% of the magazines, and the South Atlantic states purchase 11.3% of the magazines.(SRDS, 196) Even though Dance Magazine has an international scope, 91% of the issues are sold in the United States. (Dance Magazine Press Kit, *1993)*

This concludes the history and general information about Dance Magazine. The second half of the paper will look at how the magazine deals with the controversial issue of eating disorders in the dance world.

The Obsession With Thinness

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The photographs shown on the previous page were found in Off Balance, a book by Suzanne Gordon. Gordon has been a ballet fan since her childhood and began ballet lessons at age 30. She was the contributing editor of Mother Jones and has written for several other magazines. She researched this book for two years by interviewing dancers of all ages, as well as "ballet mothers." Her book examines the problems that women in the dance world face. Gordon calls eating disorders "ballet's dirty little secret." As many as 15% of the female dance students in America's most reputable dance schools may suffer from true anorexia, and several more are borderline cases, according to Gordon.(Gordon, 147) She sees anorexia as "clearly one of the most serious problems that the ballet world faces, yet it is one very few companies or schools openly acknowledge or cope with effectively."(Gordon, 158)

Anorexia is defined as the "morbid pursuit of weight loss which can lead to a state of starvation."(Hanna, 119) It has been estimated that ballet dancers have a rate of anorexia 10 times that of the general population.(Black, 17) Dancer Gelsey Kirkland said that she starved herself to exert control over herself, that "purification and punishment go hand in hand."(Hanna, 119) In many cases, ballet companies try to keep their dancers in a state of "prolonged immaturity and dependence;" one example of this is that Balanchine did not allow his dancers to date. This forced state of immaturity causes some young women, like Kirkland, to abuse their bodies in order to regain control of their lives.(Hanna, 119)

Bulimia is a cycle of binges followed by purges. These purges come as a result of either vomiting or taking overdoses of laxatives.(Hanna, 19) Research has found that bulimics are more likely to be oriented towards traditional female sex roles and they read female role oriented magazines more often than non-bulimics.(Drake, 9) Being a ballerina is a very traditionally feminine thing to do, so it is reasonable to assume that bulimia is a problem in dancers.

Gordon is not alone in her criticism of the ballet world; Marian Horosko and Judith Kupersmith wrote, "No one is more willing to sacrifice health and the enjoyment of food to meet the aesthetic and technical standards than a dancer."(Horosko, 68) They also say that most doctors find dancers to be underweight and abusive to their bodies. Kupersmith and Horosko write for Dance Magazine often, and in 1981 they founded the Performing Arts Center for Health, which was the first psychiatric clinic for performing artists.(Horosko, ix) Horosko also writes many of the articles advising young dancers about stress management in the "Young Dancer's Supplement."

The "Advice For Dancers" section illustrates that young, female dancers do indeed have a distorted image of what being overweight means (see Appendix 3). In July 1993, a dancer wrote in that she is 5'2" and weighs 90 pounds; "Am I overweight?" she asked. In August 1993, a 13-year-old wrote in that she weighs 98 pounds (at 5'1") and also thinks that she may be overweight. In September 1993, a 14-year-old wrote: "I've been losing a lot of weight lately (23 pounds)." She wanted to know why she is so tired. Dance Magazine answered all three of these questions in a very healthy, supportive way, telling the girls that they are not too fat and that the only way to have energy is to eat.

Dance Magazine is subtle in its treatment of excessive thinness. Eating disorders are rarely mentioned in feature articles, and the editors do not stress that this is a serious problem in the dance world. They seem to accept the fact that it is necessary for dancers to be very thin, and want to help guide the women to a safe way to maintain their weight.

In 1967, Dance Magazine published a four part article series titled "Hoof and Mouth Disease," which focused on a dancer's diet. The first part was a humorous monologue of a dancer talking about all of the diet tactics that she has tried. She starts her day with diet soda, then has a pack of diet gum and a candy bar. She looks back on the other things that she has tried in the past: wrapping herself in Saran Wrap to "sweat off" the fat, diet pills which made her nauseous, binging, chewing food and spitting it into a paper bag, diuretic pills, and a macrobiotic diet.(Fatt I, 39)

The second part of the series started by saying that part one was not one girl talking, but a composite of conversations that the author overheard in the dressing rooms of various New York ballet schools. The second part offers a common sense approach to the issue of dieting. Professional dancers who have lost weight in a healthy way offered their advice: "Cut out second helpings."(Fatt II, 24-25)

Part three offered the advice of a doctor on dieting. Dr. Philip Weissman sees the psychological makeup of dancers as the source of this need for excessive thinness. He does not see the director or choreographer as pressuring dancers to be thin. Dancers see their body as a tool, and they strive to perfect this tool. Weissman says that a realistic goal is the only way to lose weight.(Fatt III, 23)

Robert Joffrey, artistic director for the Joffrey Ballet, wrote part four of the "Hoof and Mouth" series. It is interesting to note that his words refute Weissman's idea that directors do not push dancers to be thin. Joffrey starts off by saying that "almost every dancer has an eating problem, but they must treat it with a professional attitude." He explains that dancers need to be thin because the costumes and lights add weight on stage. He also says that thin dancers are "easier to work with." According to Joffrey, if a ballerina's body look is wrong because of excess weight, the dancer should diet under a doctor's care.(Fatt IV, 84)

"Hoof and Mouth Disease" was interesting to read because Dance Magazine set up conflicting views of dieting without getting personally involved. Within the whole issue of eating disorders, the editors never offered the magazine's opinion on the matter. Dance Magazine consistently stresses the beauty of ballet in its feature articles and editorials. The sections of the magazine which deal, in a roundabout way, with the unpleasant issue of eating disorders are limited to monthly columns, which are no longer than two pages. The magazine is unconsciously part of the problem, though, because every issue contains photographs of professional dancers who are very thin (see Appendix 4). The look is impossible to avoid because most professional ballerinas are thin. The problem is that this gives young girls the message that to succeed, one needs to look skeletal.

Ballerina Gelsey Kirkland accuses Balanchine of pressuring his dancers not only to diet, but to starve. She tells this story: "He halted class and approached me for a kind of physical inspection. With his knuckles, he thumped my sternum and down my rib cage, clucking his tongue and remarking, 'must see bones'...he said repeatedly, 'eat nothing'."(Hanna, 130) Kirkland also said, "Balanchine and his teachers unwittingly encouraged his young dancers to self-destruct, rationalized as part of the sacrifice that must be made to the art."(Hanna, 119) Another writer points out that ballet choreographers, "who are almost always male, mold ballet's young women to the idea of feminine that equates beauty and grace with excessive thinness."(Hanna, 130)

Kirkland's book was a very frank look at the ballet world which also exposed the rampant eating disorders and drug use at New York City Ballet. She portrays both Balanchine and Baryshnikov as cruel to women. She was featured on the cover of Dance Magazine in November of 1986, one month after her book came out. The article included an excerpt from her book, but focused on the fact that she was returning to the stage after recovering from a cocaine addiction. In July 1986, Kirkland told Dance Magazine that she feared that her book would not be received well when it came out.(Greco, 4)

The book was reviewed by the magazine in December of 1986. The reviewer began by saying that it was a good book because it offered a nice history of ballet and an interesting look into the world of addiction. But, he wrote, "The bad taste of the book is that it is filled with anger." He said this anger caused the book to give an unbalanced picture of the dance world and of Balanchine. The reviewer said that "it is no surprise that drug use is widespread in the dance world."(Philip, 75) There was no mention of the issue of eating disorders, even though Kirkland talks at length in her book about her problems with anorexia and bulimia.

Gordon's book gives other examples of how instructors and directors pressure young girls into being obsessed with their weight. One young dancer says that when a student gains weight, the instructor will announce it in front of the whole class. Although this student was thin to begin with, she developed an eating disorder out of fear of gaining weight. Dancers at American Ballet Theater complained to Gordon that "the thin thing is being carried too far."

(Gordon, 151) Baryshnikov's role as artistic director is part of the problem, as he has fired girls with no prior notice because they are too fat and he cannot stand to look at them, according to ABT dancers interviewed by Gordon. Instead of exposing Baryshnikov for this type of behavior, his artistic talents are lauded by Dance Magazine. He is a man who is loved by many ballet fans in America, and to criticize him would anger a large part of the magazine's readers.

Instead of clearly discussing the problem of eating disorders, the magazine tries to help guide the readers who dance in their decisions as to how to lose weight. The 1967 four part series was one example of the way Dance Magazine approached the topic. In May 1987, there was an article on the pros and cons of liposuction in the "Personal You" section, and in September 1990 the column covered overeating. In recent years, a new column called "Nutrition" has covered such topics as beta carotine, water, calcium, and fast foods.

Recently, there have been more articles on nutrition and eating. Editors are now trying to stress that dancers' bodies need a lot of fuel, best achieved in the form of carbohydrates. One such article appeared in the October 1993 "Young Dancers Supplement." Titled "High Energy Eating," the article points out that research shows that dancers do not eat enough. Some female dancers eat less than 85% of the RDA of calories. The article goes on to discuss how food and calories are related and how the body deals with different foods. It stresses how many carbohydrates, proteins, and fats the body needs.(Pressman, YD-6)

A study of Dance Magazine issues from 1967 to 1994 revealed only one article specifically dedicated to anorexia or bulimia. This article from the August 1979 issue was titled, "Why Thinner Is Not Always Better." The article was only one page long, and located on page 102 of the magazine. At the end of the article, there was a short paragraph which promised to dedicate more time to the issue of eating disorders. Despite this promise, no other articles on the subject appeared throughout the rest of 1979 or 1980. Thus, Dance Magazine does not expose the dance world's "dirty little secret," though it is obvious that the instructors and directors of various

American schools and companies are acting in a very irresponsible manner.

There are two reasons why Dance Magazine is not more open about this problem of excessive thinness among dancers. The first reason is that the magazine has a good relationship with the dance community. When the publication celebrated its sixtieth anniversary in 1987, the magazine was filled with congratulations from schools, dancers, companies, and teaching associations. When longtime Editor William Como died in 1989, the magazine was again filled with statements from prominent people in the dance world. It is logical to assume that the magazine values this friendly relationship with the dance community and therefore does not wish to jeopardize it by accusing directors and instructors of encouraging anorexic or bulimic behavior in their dancers.

The other reason that Dance Magazine does not expose this problem is that it has a three part audience: dance fans, teachers, and dancers. The eating disorder problem affects only a portion of the third audience, young female dancers. The feature articles in Dance Magazine (dance news, reviews, profiles and history) are of general interest to all three segments of the audience. However, the editors could present the issue of eating disorders in a variety of ways to appeal to the different audiences. For example, an article could be published advising instructors on what to do if a student has an eating disorder, or how to advise your students on healthy weight loss.

Eating disorders seem to be a touchy subject in the dance world, and Dance Magazine tries to approach the subject in a way which subtly informs young female dancers, while trying not to inflame other people in the dance world. Editors are beginning to take a more responsible approach by running more articles which discuss the dietary needs of young dancers and offer information about nutrition.

Dance Magazine is the largest magazine about dance in circulation today. Although it is a special interest magazine, it has outlasted several other publications with more mass appeal. The history of the magazine shows the dedication of its employees and the strong sense of the past which is apparent in the pages of every issue. The magazine tries to handle issues like the obsession with thinness in a responsible manner while trying not to damage the good relation that the magazine has with the prominent people in the dance world.

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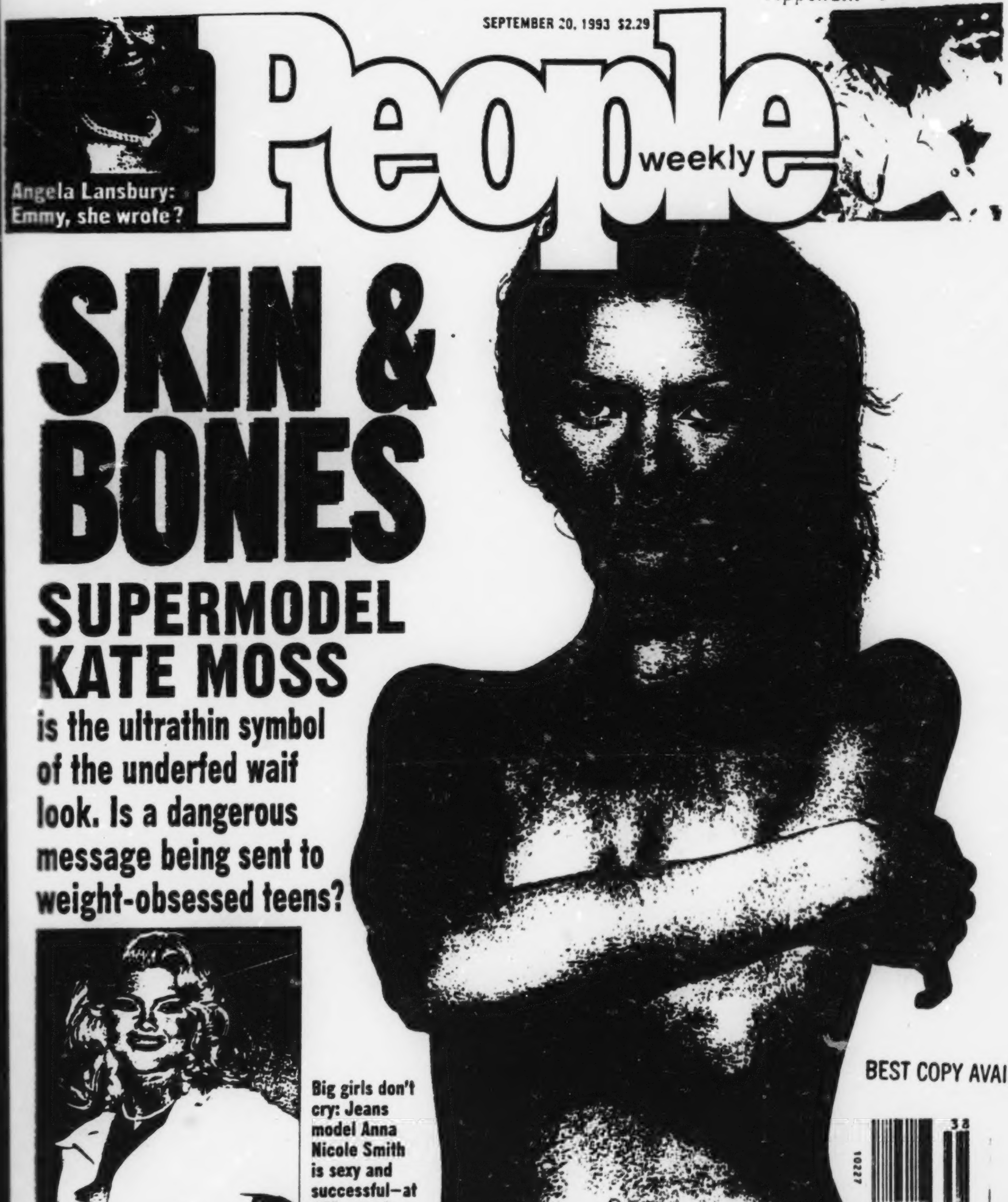
Appendix 1



SEPTEMBER 20, 1993 $2.29

People weekly

Angela Lansbury: Emmy, she wrote?

SKIN & BONES

SUPERMODEL KATE MOSS

is the ultrathin symbol of the underfed waif look. Is a dangerous message being sent to weight-obsessed teens?

Big girls don't cry: Jeans model Anna Nicole Smith is sexy and successful—at 155 pounds

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Appendix 2

Editors and Publisher Throughout the History of Dance Magazine, 1927-1993

Publishers

1942-1970 Rudolph Orthwine
1970-1985 Jean Gordon
1985-present Rosalyn Paige Stern

Editors-in-Chief

1927	Ruth Elanor Howard, Managing Editor of American Dancer
1933	Paul Milton (American Dancer)
1936	Paul Milton, publisher and editor of Dance
1942	American Dancer and Dance merge under Rudolph Orthwine Lucille Marsh is Editor-in-Chief
1945	The following were editors in rapid succession, in the following order: Ruthella Wade, Dorothy Spence, Ezra Goodman
1947	Helen Dzhermolinska
1952	Ann Barzel, then Lydia Joel
1970	William Como
1989	Richard Philip

Appendix 3

Examples From the "Advice For Dancers" Column

Q I've been losing a lot of weight lately (twenty-three pounds). I'm only fourteen but I feel weak. I also lose energy after the first thirty minutes in dance class. Do you have any ideas for things that will boost my stamina, besides fruit, which doesn't help me much?

A Weak Dancer

A I'm not surprised you're weak. You've lost twenty-three pounds quickly—and half of this is muscle! *Regardless of the diet, you can't lose more than two pounds of fat a week.* Unfortunately, many dancers only learn this after they get injured. My advice is to get a check-up from your doctor. Your stamina should return when you start to eat sensibly.

Q Recently, two of my friends and I auditioned for a wonderful summer dance program. Then yesterday we got our answer. Both of them got on the waiting list and I didn't! I'd like to blame it on my weight. At 5'1" I weigh 98 lbs. How else can I deal with discouragement?

Suicidal

A If you were serious when you signed your letter *Suicidal,* tell your mother *now!* A disappointing audition isn't the end of the world, but you may need professional help to believe it.

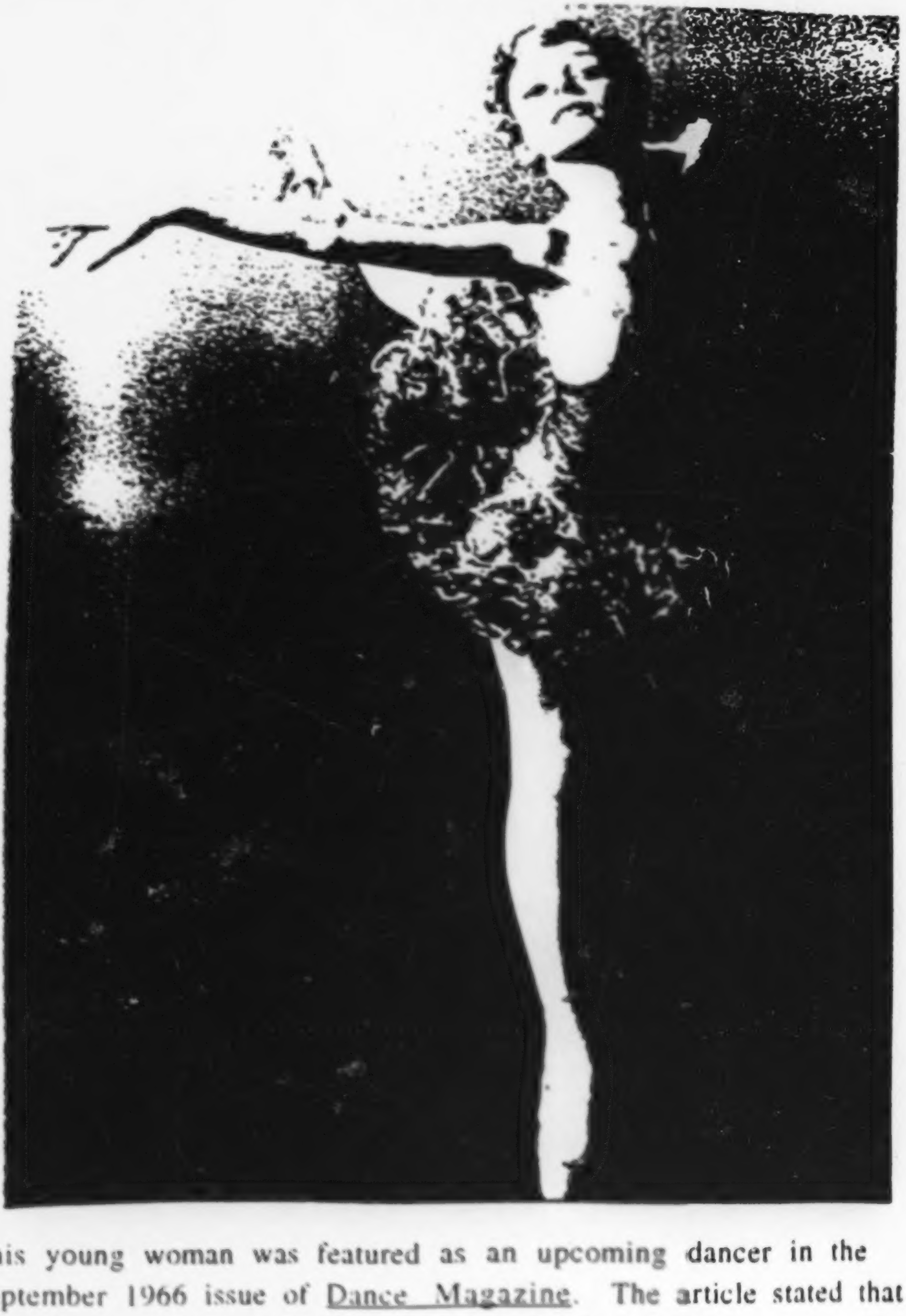
Of course, if you're really just worried about your weight, then the answer *seems* obvious—lose it! But this is a trap, because your present weight is fine. Instead, why not ask your teacher to help you prepare for next year's audition?

Q I'm five feet two inches and weigh ninety pounds. Am I overweight? I'm twelve years old. The reason I ask this is that when I went up on toe in second position, my thighs shook. I figured it was the fat that was shaking. Is it fat? What can I do to reduce that fat? Should I eat less fattening foods?

Help Me!

Appendix 4

An Extreme Example of Thin Women in the Pages of Dance Magazine



This young woman was featured as an upcoming dancer in the September 1966 issue of Dance Magazine. The article stated that she was 13 years old, was 4'6", and weighed 57 pounds.

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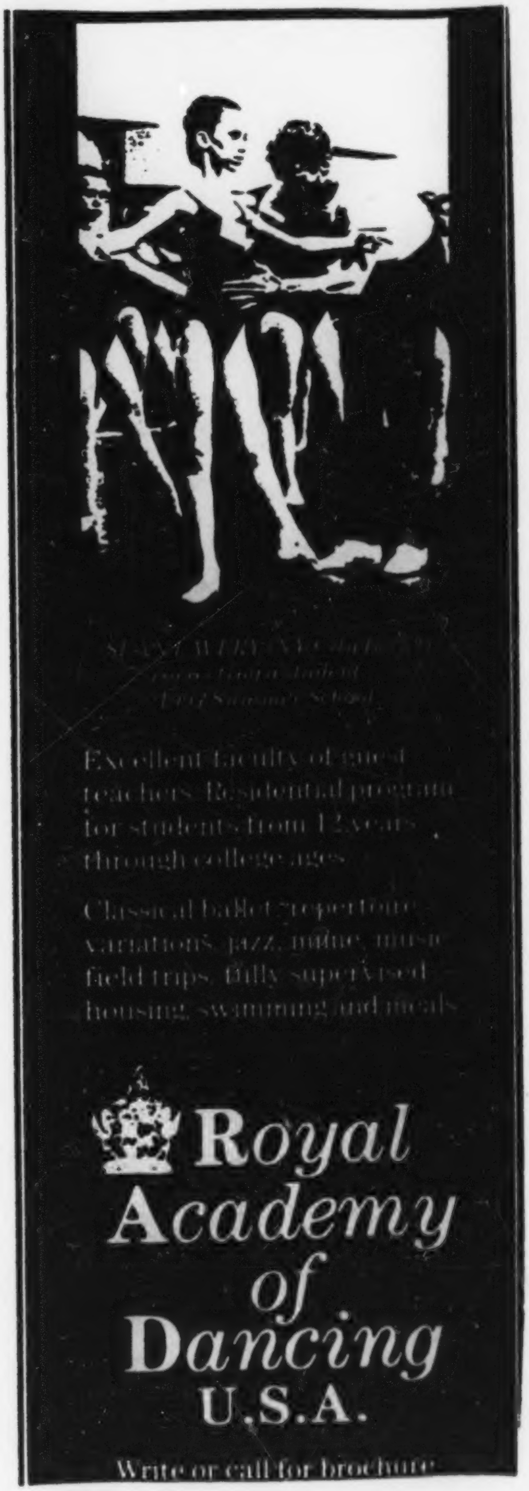
A Letter to the Editor From the September 1993 issue of Dance Magazine and the Photo to Which the Reader Was Referring



Excellent faculty of guest teachers. Residential program for students from 12 years through college ages.

Classical ballet, repertoire, variations, jazz, mime, music, field trips, fully supervised housing, swimming and meals.

Royal Academy of Dancing U.S.A.

Write or call for brochure

AD NAUSEAM

■ I generally find the articles and advertisements in *Dance Magazine* to be interesting, aesthetically pleasing, and in good taste. However, when I received my June issue and opened to page 18, I was appalled by the ad for the Royal Academy of Dancing U.S.A. The student featured in that ad looked gaunt, fragile, ill—in short, anorexic. It is horrifying to me that a school would choose to represent itself with this unhealthy image.

Jennifer Pontius
Gardendale, Ala.

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Teenagers Get Sassy:
An Analysis of the Current Teen Magazine Market

by

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Submitted to the 1994 AEJMC
Magazine Division
Undergraduate Category

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TOP UNDERGRADUATE PAPER, MAGAZINE DIVISION 1994

Teenagers Get Sassy: An Analysis of the Current Teen Magazine Market

INTRODUCTION

For almost 50 years, the teen magazine market has been dominated by the extremely successful Seventeen magazine. With a circulation of nearly 2 million, Seventeen seems to be an accepted institution for females growing up in America (Smith 65). For years it appeared to most that, along with its competitors YM (established in 1955) and 'Teen (established in 1957), Seventeen had satisfied the market's needs completely. Feeling that they had the key to success with teens, it was of little worry to these well-established magazines when a new magazine called Sassy entered the teen market in March of 1988. Yet, it did not take long for readers and the other magazines to take notice of Sassy. Only a year after its premiere, in the October 1989 issue, Sassy editors wrote: "There can be no doubt that since our launch...the teenage magazine market in America has changed." Sassy not only carved itself a predominate place in the teen market, it also forced the traditional magazines to examine their own style. What was the reason for this unanticipated success? How did Sassy begin a change that would affect the entire teen magazine market?

LITERATURE REVIEW

As a genre, magazines for teenage girls have not yet been thoroughly analyzed. A few studies have begun to touch on this area, yet it remains basically uninvestigated. As one researcher points out, "To date, little work has appeared about the content features of popular teen magazines and virtually nothing about adolescents' response to these publications" (Evans 1). This, however, does not mean this area does not warrant further inquiry. On the contrary, it appears that such magazines may have a significant effect on the socialization and values of young girls. As Peirce points out in her studies (1990, 1993), "Teenage girls may indeed be dependent on teen magazines for information; they aren't going to find so much material targeted solely to them in any other medium." She goes on to explain, "Teens are still learning how to live in the world as well, so it wouldn't be going too far to suggest that the ingredients for message receptiveness are there: inadequate social realities and media dependency." As we begin to understand the apparent power of this medium, other concerns arise with regard to the messages that teen magazines are delivering to young girls. Some suggest that teen magazines function under the guise of "self-improvement" but they are really about instilling stereotypical, anti-feminist values by telling teens that "the road to happiness is attracting males for a successful heterosexual life by way of physical beauty" (Evans et al 110). In light of this discussion, Sassy is an interesting case study because of the way it has challenged the stereotypes of teen magazines while still managing to be a successful part of the genre. It is important that the teen magazines begin to be recognized as a powerful force and researched seriously. This case study of Sassy should help raise important issues about the genre as well as lay the groundwork for questions which should be answered in future comparisons of teen magazines.

BACKGROUND

Sassy magazine was originally the idea of Sandra Yates, who, at the time, was a top executive at John Fairfax Ltd:, Australia's second largest publishing company. Yates visited New York in 1984 and realized that there was not a magazine like Australia's Dolly being marketed to American teenage girls. Dolly, a nontraditional teenage publication originally modeled on European fashion magazines, has been touted as the most successful teen magazine ever. In 1987, Dolly, with its frank coverage of sex and other topics important to teens, was read by one in four Australian girls age 14 to 17 (Fabrikant 7). Magazines like Seventeen have always taken a traditional "good girl" stance. Yates felt American teens needed a magazine that would discuss issues without "cloaking them in euphemisms," a magazine that took the tone of "hey guys, we're in this together." To Yates, "the teen magazines here [in the U.S.] were like Good Housekeeping for teenagers, speaking with parental voices and looking like they are suspended in aspic" (Deutsch 7). Yates went back to Australia convinced that a Dolly-like magazine would be successful in the United States. After a few years of persuasion and successful focus group testing, in 1987 Fairfax gave Yates the approval and the budget to come to New York and start Sassy. Yates became the president of Fairfax Publications (U.S.) Ltd. (Deutsch 7).

Sassy was to change hands many times in the next few years. Just as Sassy was hitting the newsstands, Fairfax ran into financial difficulties and John Fairfax decided to sell his American subdivision. Sassy and Ms., which was also owned by Fairfax, were put up for sale. In May 1988, Yates and Anne Summers, an Australian feminist and the editor of Ms., exercised an option and bought the two magazines from Fairfax with financing help from the Citicorp Group and an Australian bank. But their new company, Matilda Publishing, Inc., failed to meet its business goals and early in 1989 it lost control of the magazines to its financial bankers (Zuckerman 77). Then in August 1989, Dale W. Lang, a magazine investor and publisher, agreed to acquire a half-interest in Sassy and Ms. and began to publish them, along with three other magazines, under the name of Lang Communications, Inc. (Scardino 5). Matilda Publications was dissolved and by October of 1989, New York Times reported that Lang had acquired 70 percent interest in the publications, while the remaining 30 percent continued to be held by Citicorp Venture Capital Partners ("Stakes Sold in Magazine").

THE SASSY DIFFERENCE

An examination of Sassy since its first issue in March 1988 to date reveals the Sassy difference in its editorial approach. When it began, Sassy, like Dolly, was aimed at 14 to 19 year olds. Its basic premise was that teenagers were more sophisticated than the magazines that were currently being marketed to them. The theme of its first marketing campaign was "I'm too Sassy to read 'Teen" (Fabrikant 7). Sassy's aim was to be more contemporary in its fashion approach and also more direct about issues such as sex. As Sassy's first publisher Helen Barr explained before the premiere issue, "I think the other teen magazines are not really addressing the things that interest teenagers. We are giving them good, solid information about relationships and sexuality" (Fabrikant 7). In February 1988, 25-year-old Jane Pratt, the editor of Sassy, explained the aim of the magazine: "We'll talk to readers as peers rather than as some authority figure....Teenagers will be told the truth, without euphemisms or apologies" ("Lear's, Sassy: New Voices"). Pratt also explained, "Other magazines have, like, a stereotypical or idealized vision of teenagers. Maybe what parents or teachers would like. Not really what teenagers are about, you know" (Daley 8).

In order to fulfill these goals, Sassy had to be significantly different from its competitors. Several basic characteristics made it different from its teen magazine counterparts and these characteristics eventually led to its success. The first unique trait of the magazine is its journalistic style. From the beginning, it has been part of Sassy's goal to take a different tone with its readers. As described in a Time 1988 article: "Sassy has singlehandedly pioneered a new genre: pajama-party journalism" (Zuckerman 77). In this type of writing style, the personalities of the staff play a distinct role in the magazine. The writers are referred to by first name and readers are made to feel as if Jane, Catherine, Karen and Christina are all their close personal friends gossiping with them and giving them advice. For example, a September 1988 article about shoes began, "Most of us at Sassy have definite shoe fetishes. When Karen's depressed, she goes shoe shopping (sometimes she just pretends to be depressed, so she has an excuse to buy a new pair). Christina used to make a living writing about shoes (no joke)...." Kim Gordon of the rock group Sonic Youth further explained the pajama-party journalism style of Sassy when she wrote in Spin, "The best thing about Sassy is that it feels like it's written by your hip older sister, not your mother" (Sassy Press Kit).

The magazine's editorial statement elaborates on Sassy's special tone: "The editorial format of Sassy strikes an emotional chord with her readers and creates a strong bond of trust between the magazine and the reader" (Sassy Press Kit). Articles like "When We Were Depressed" (January 1991) or "Embarrassing Moments in Our Menstrual History" (October 1989), in which each staff member shares intimate details of her past with the readers, help forge these kind of bonds. The readers feel close to writers who relate embarrassing stories like the following: "I was, how do you say, making out with a guy and he got a little fresh, and before I could stop him he felt my maxi-pad through my pants." But readers not only identify with the staff, they also look up to them as well. For example, reader mail like the following is common: "I am 15 and I would like to say that I think Karen Catchpole is so cool! You're tough and bitchy and that is what makes you so neat. Stay cool!" or "Catherine, well, you know, you're my favorite staff member. I'd like to get to know ya, mon" (September 1988).

The magazine's editorial mission statement explains that Sassy is to be "written in the language her readers speak, creating conversation between Sassy and her readers" (Sassy Press Kit). By being unpretentious and talking to readers in a language they can understand, even though readers see staff members as role models, readers always feel like they are being treated as equals. Sassy does not shy away from slang. For example, the February 1990 issue of Sassy, contained an article titled "The Seven Deadly Dude Defects." The sub-headline for the article read: "Even Mr. Perfection-In-A-Boyfriend can be a colossal jerkoid sometimes. Kim France outlines seven particularly annoying forms of boy behavior, tells you how to deal with them and explains when and why you should forgive him. Maybe." Also, every issue of Sassy includes a "Sassy glossary definition" to keep its readers informed of hip new slang. For example, definition #42 in the October 1991 issue read: "Twillie: Noun. A fool. Used thusly: 'You know Lindsay, the president of Delta Nu? The twillie with the long straight blonde hair who was wearing a hat with antlers on it? That's who my ex-boyfriend Stan is going out with." By acknowledging the language of readers, Sassy reinforces its role as a friend to its readers.

Sassy readers respond well to the invitation to friendship that the magazine offers them. The annual reader-produced issue with the cover explanation "every little thing in this issue is totally reader-produced" is a good example of how the readers get involved with the magazine. Other examples are monthly features which originated because of readers' requests such as "Stuff You Wrote," which features poems and thoughts sent in by readers; "It Happened to Me," a reader-written essay; and "Eat This", a recipe column. Reader mail is very important to Sassy. More than 500,000 letters are sent to Sassy each year and publisher Bobbie Halfin says that Sassy feels there's no better tool to keep in touch with readers and gauge their reactions to issues while staying in touch with their likes, dislikes, language and trends (Donaton 16). The monthly letters section in Sassy also indicates how thoroughly the magazine is read and how seriously it is taken by its readers. Through letters, readers comment on the articles as well as the ads. In the September 1990 issue, a reader raised a question about an ad aimed at women who wanted sexier bodies. The reader noted that a previous issue of Sassy had cited a survey that girls obsessed about their bodies were twice as prone to be depressed. She wondered how a magazine that advised girls to "lighten up" about their body image could run this ad. Pratt responded by saying they really had no control over the advertising but that the ad had also made her stomach lurch. As Gail Pool noted in her review of Sassy for Wilson Library

Journal, this episode not only reflects how closely the readers read and digest the magazine, it also points to Sassy's uniqueness in that it ran a letter critical of an ad it had published and also openly criticized the ad itself.

Another thing that makes Sassy different from its competitors is that it gives its readers credit for having intelligence and an interest in issues bigger than perfume or earrings. Sassy reflects its readers' intelligence by dedicating 42.9% of its editorial content to lifestyle and general interest issues (Sassy Press Kit). As editor Jane Pratt explains, "Sassy was started as response to Seventeen. I grew up reading Seventeen ...so it was a personal response also. I could never be one of those 6 ft. tall, blonde, blue-eyed cheerleaders in the magazine. [According to Seventeen] The most important thing you could do was get a boyfriend....Everything was beauty--I wanted Sassy to be a more well-rounded magazine" ("The Sassiest Ed in America"). A perfect example of this commitment is an article on the Gulf War titled "The Iraq Thing" that ran in the February 1991 issue of Sassy. With subtitles like "What Sadam is irked about," "Why George got peeved" and "Why some Americans feel dissed enough to go to war," this article explained to the readers in their own language an important world event. Articles like "Israeli and Palestinian Teens Tell You Why They Can't Live in Peace" (October 1991); "Young White Racists" (March 1989); "Why are They Shooting Wild Horses in Nevada?" (April 1991); "Why You Should Lose Sleep Over Farming" (September 1991); and "What's With All the Asian Bashing?" (January 1991) are other good examples of Sassy's acknowledgement that teens are interested in serious issues as well as personal problems. Sassy's goal with articles like these is to inform readers and try to get them motivated to anger and action. Other articles like "Five Jobs That Aren't Lame: Our handy guide to some planet-improving careers" (April 1991) or "These Are the Ten Sassiest Colleges in America" (November 1989) acknowledge that readers have intelligence and promise and encourage their future plans.

Sassy's content is also unique because of the controversial stance that it often takes on the issues it covers. Teen magazines like Seventeen have always been supportive of very traditional values; they are more geared toward helping teenage girls fit into the status quo then helping them to challenge it. As Leo Scullin of Young & Rubicam explained, traditional teen magazines "respect the Protestant ethic and the nature of the country" (Fabrikant 7). Sassy's style challenges established institutions and the status quo. Good examples are articles like "Gangs=Sororities. We prove that life in a gang and life in Sigma Nu are not so different." (September 1990); "Beauty Pageants Are A Lot Like the Army" (February 1990); and "Nine Things About America That Make Us Want to Scream and Throw Stuff" (August 1991). Another excellent example is the article "And They're Gay" in the July 1988 issue. This article was a very frank, sympathetic and accepting profile of two young homosexual couples. It read: "Laural and Lesli are your basic kids. They're dating. They go to the movies and concerts. They fight over stupid things. They make up. They're sad sometimes. They're happy...And they're gay." Articles like these are certainly less likely to appear in Sassy's more mainstream, conservative counterparts like Seventeen and YM. Midge Richardson, former editor of Seventeen, explains the difference: Sassy's "politics are unabashedly liberal. The magazine also pokes fun at the traditional values" (Smith 66).

Sassy editor-in-chief Jane Pratt explains that in picking topics to cover, "The big question we ask is what would a 16-year-old want to learn that no one else would tell her" (Zuckerman 77). Again and again, the resounding answer to this question has been sex information. The editorial staff of Sassy decided that providing frank sex information should be a first priority and that made Sassy unique from the beginning. The staff felt that the sex coverage published in other teen magazines "was scarce and usually couched in judgmental terms" and they set out to make Sassy different from this (Larsen 96). The staff had many reasons for emphasizing this issue. As one staffer explained: "The United States has the highest teen pregnancy rate of any similarly industrial western nation, and we felt that was not an issue that would go away by just telling teens to say no...The situation had become even more confusing for teenagers because of the attention that abstinence was getting as the only sure way to prevent AIDS. Our readers were left with a lot of (un)answered questions that we felt were important to address" (Larsen 96). Sassy set out to fulfill this mission from the beginning. The first issue in March 1988 contained an article titled "Losing your Virginity" which answered questions like "Can I get pregnant?"; "Will it hurt?"; "How long will it take?"; and "What if I change my mind?" The staff chose to run this article because they felt that one of the reasons many teens were having sex was that the media had them believing that losing their virginity would be the biggest, most important moment of their lives. The Sassy article left the moral decisions up to the readers, but tried to debunk this myth and at the same time offered readers concrete information about birth control, sexually transmitted diseases, etc. The response to this article by the readers was tremendous. Teens finally felt someone had spoken to them. Reader mail showed many teens frantic for more information and advice; often the letters had a tone of fear or shame. In the following issues, Sassy attempted to respond to the readers with articles like "The Truth About Boys' Bodies" (April 1988) and "Getting Turned On" (June 1988). The main theme of these articles was to let readers know that sexuality "wasn't shameful as long as they were responsible about safe sex, birth control, and emotional self-care" (Larsen 97).

Sassy's form of sex education really seemed to hit a nerve with teens. But, inevitably, its controversial nature also was the target of negative feedback. Sassy's candid coverage of sexuality was particularly offensive to some, and a massive reader and advertiser boycott was led by two mothers from Wabash, Indiana, who took offense to the sexually frank articles in Sassy. Through Focus on Family, a Jerry Falwell-supported publication, a group called Women Aglow organized a letter-writing campaign aimed at the major advertisers in Sassy. The campaign threatened to boycott the products of the companies who continued to advertise in Sassy (Larsen 97). Within months, at least nine major advertising accounts, led Maybelline, pulled their advertising from Sassy (Goldberg 22). To save itself, Sassy was forced to tone down its articles about sex and to stay away from controversial material. "We accomplished what we wanted" said Brenda Ingraham, one of the women behind the campaign ("Damsels in Distress" 40). That she had was reflected in Sassy's post-boycott articles like the one headlined "Virgins Are Cool." It hasn't been until very recently that Sassy has been able to go back to sexual topics. The February cover of 1992 was the first cover with a headline about sex in a long time and even now, coverage of sex is purposely more timid.

Despite the stifling of its sexual frankness, Sassy was still able to keep its unique voice. Sassy's initial sales were phenomenal. Within six months, its circulation went from 250,000 to 400,000 paid subscribers (Smith 65). Its circulation is now over 700,000 as of March 1994 and is still increasing rapidly (SRDS). Though its circulation still lags behind the already established YM (circulation 1,533,370) and Seventeen (circulation 1,873,039), in the five years Sassy has been published it has "become something of a sensation in pop culture circles" (Goodman 2E). It was chosen winner of the 1992 Magazine Week Editorial Excellence Award in the "Young Woman's Lifestyle" category over nominees Seventeen and YM. With its revenue up $1.0 million for the year, Sassy was named one of Adweek's "10 Hottest Small Magazines" in 1993 (Garland 22). Jane Pratt, editor of Sassy, has become "the high priestess of teen cool" (de Boer TV 1). She has appeared on "The Jay Leno Show," "First Person with Maria Shriver," and has been consulted as an expert on the teen perspective in countless articles and on several television shows.

SASSY AND THE TEEN MAGAZINE MARKET

As Sassy's distinctive voice caught on, it in turn affected the entire teen magazine market. In the October 1989 issue of Sassy the editors pointed this out to the magazine's readers: "There can be no doubt that since our launch in March 1988, the teenage magazine market in America has changed. For the better. Our unheard of writing style, our unexpected art direction, and our investigative journalism, have opened the market right up. And it will never be the same again." They went on to point out that Seventeen, 'Teen, and YM have copied ideas seen in Sassy. For example, they pointed to the way the competition had used slang words previously defined in the "Sassy glossary" in their articles and how 'Teen had even gone so far as to have its own version of a glossary. They also pointed to the way that both Seventeen and YM had began to include the personalities of the staff into their editorial comments. Seventeen started an "Editor's Letter" feature much like Sassy's "Diary" and YM added a feature with candid pictures of staff members on the masthead page. All do not agree with Sassy's analysis of the situation. Seventeen claims that its remake was underway before Sassy appeared on the scene. Midge Richardson, former editor of Seventeen, says that Seventeen never wanted to be like Sassy: "Sassy is chatty and breezy; the voice is appealing to teenagers. But it's sometimes vulgar..." (Smith 65). YM, Sassy's other main rival, also claims that its make-over was not in response to Sassy's success, saying that they consider Seventeen, not Sassy, as their competition (Smith 66).

Whether or not the make-overs of Seventeen and YM were responses to Sassy is unable to be proven. What is provable is that Sassy did change the expectations for teen magazines. With the high praise from critics and the excellent reader response that Sassy has received, teen magazines have realized that a more down-to-earth, less preachy approach seems to be the key to successfully reaching the female teen market. Though no one can definitely say that Sassy has forced its competition to change, it is safe to say that Sassy has forced them to reevaluate the style and content that they had grown accustomed to.

While the distinctions between Sassy, Seventeen and YM are important, what are also important are the magazine's essential similarities. Sassy's success can be attributed to the fact that it made innovations but was still able to stay within the principles of the genre. Sassy recognized that the editorial thrust of all teen magazines is to speak to an audience who is vulnerable. Teenage girls are obsessed with beautiful bodies and boys and are plagued by stress, self-esteem problems, and eating disorders. Sassy has made the most of trying to help teens with their problems. More than any of its competitors, Sassy has made it one of its foremost goals to try to instill a greater sense of self-esteem in their readers. For example, "How to Ask the Time Without Hyperventilating" (March 1989), explains to readers "how to walk and talk in front of everybody," "how to deal with the cafeteria crowd," and "how to get confident once and for all." Another article in July 1991, "How, When, Where and Why to Dump That Dude," explained to girls the best way to "get your worthy butt out of that nowhere relationship." Time and time again, the Sassy staff stresses to its readers that "in Sassyland, no-boyfriend-ness is always an acceptable state of being" (April 1994). Sassy also exclaims to its readers, "Too much value is being placed on your being cute and decorative...develop your skills and interests...learn to value your own abilities...Don't let anyone tell you that femininity equals passiveness" (April 1994). Sassy wants its readers to feel good about who they are and is always encouraging them to do so. Some have gone so far as to call Sassy "a decidedly feminist assault on the media manipulation of young women" (Rock 40). But this statement is only partially true because, as one Sassy staff member explains, even the writers of the magazine realize "we are treading a fine line because we *are* media manipulation" (Rock 40). Sassy may be an assault on the establishment of teen magazines, but it still has had to stay within the basic principles of the genre in order to be successful. Almost in a contradiction, Sassy calls for girls to question the establishment without ever denying that Sassy is fully part of that establishment.

Sassy operates within the principles of the teenage genre. It knows that teenage girls worry about their bodies, their relationships with boys, and their future. It understands the needs and insecurities of teenagers, and it tries to fill these needs in a bolder and more realistic manner then its counterparts. With its pajama-party writing style and unique editorial content, it has formed a relationship with its readers. Every month, teenage girls open their mailboxes and find a friend who listens to them, encourages them, speaks in their language, and acknowledges that they are bright individuals. By becoming this friend to teenage girls, Sassy has not only found a niche in what was previously considered a saturated market, it has also forced many to reconsider the important genre of teenage magazines as we have known it.

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How News Magazines Frame Coverage When Presidents Want to Tax and Spend

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Running head: HOW NEWS MAGAZINES FRAME COVERAGE

Abstract

An analysis of frames used by *Time* and *Newsweek* in coverage of federal budget debates shows that the media agenda was influenced by a preference for concrete, easily understood issues. There is evidence that the magazines only adopted the frames used by presidents to describe budget proposals when those frames coincided with other media values. The frames used by the magazines may have minimized explanations of complex or abstract issues.

How News Magazines Frame Coverage When Presidents Want to Tax and Spend

Agenda-setting research originated with studies focusing on how mass media messages influence the public mind (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Funkhouser, 1973a). These studies concluded that coverage of issues can place them on the public agenda.

This focus on the relationship between media coverage and the public agenda has continued to dominate agenda-setting research. One study identified 223 publications, most produced after 1972, mentioning or exploring some aspect of how issues become part of a democracy's agenda (Rogers, Dearing & Bregman, 1993). More than half of the publications focused on how the media influence the public agenda. Only about 7% of the publications explored influences shaping media decisions about how to cover the news (p. 72-73).

However, McCombs and Shaw (1972, p. 184) and Funkhouser (1973a, p. 71-75; 1973b) either acknowledged or explored influences on the media agenda in their ground-breaking studies. McCombs and Shaw (1993, p. 58-59) now argue that a sustained examination of how the media agenda is shaped marks a new phase in agenda-setting research. This conference paper is part of that new phase.

Introduction

Kosicki (1993) argues that much agenda-setting research has failed to adequately explore the content of issues. He contends that focusing on the frame, or points of reference used to define an issue, can produce a more sophisticated analysis of how the media agenda is shaped and of its connection to the public agenda (p. 110-116).

Hennessy (1985, chap. 3) argues that public policy is shaped by elites within broad limits set by general public opinion. Graber (1982, p. 556) defines these political elites as decision makers and opinion leaders who pay close attention to issues.

Shoemaker and Reese (1991, p. 57-58) report that conclusions about whether journalists fit the profile of average or elite Americans depend on the journalists being studied. However, journalists have better than average educations and that may affect how they view and report on the world (p. 80). Other theorists (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992, p. 3-4) point out that journalists, who frequently communicate with elites, are heavily influenced by elite views.

This paper examines possible links between how discussions of federal budgets are framed by presidents and the media, and wider public opinion about federal taxation and spending. Coverage of budget proposals was selected because such proposals are assumed to be a concrete expression of each president's fundamental approach to government.

Two budget proposals were selected for this analysis because they were designed to reverse the prevailing approach to government spending. In 1981, President Reagan presented his first budget proposal ("President Reagan's economic proposals," 1981) as a blueprint for revolutionary change. In 1993, President Clinton offered his first budget proposal ("Clinton outlines," 1993) as a reversal of Reagan's policies.

Using public opinion about budgets as a backdrop, this paper examines how *Time* and *Newsweek* framed their coverage of the proposals. Those frames are compared with the frames used in presidential speeches outlining the proposals.

Shaping the media agenda

Funkhouser (1973a; 1973b) compared media coverage to statistics measuring the actual development of various issues. He suggested that the coverage often had little to do with actual conditions, arguing that stories instead result from real and manufactured news events. Westley (1976) theorized that media agendas are influenced by society and culture. He described how common interest in an issue, such as civil rights, results in the creation of interest groups. Interest groups become subjects for coverage, giving personal agendas some influence over media agendas.

Manheim (1987) developed an agenda-setting model to explain the interplay between issues that the media, elite policy makers and public each consider important. He argued that the media agenda is determined by the accessibility of newsworthy events or issues. He suggested that issues matching either the media's values or its perceptions of public values would receive favorable coverage (p. 510). At the same time, he suggested that external controls on the flow of information can determine the place an issue occupies on the media agenda (p. 511).

Gandy (1982) argued that sources influence the media agenda by making information available to journalists. This, in effect, reduces the cost of information by reducing the work needed to produce a story. Sources also can withhold information, increasing its cost and decreasing the likelihood that it will be published.

One study documented how sources can shape the media's agenda. Investigative reporters collaborated with Congressional staff members to coordinate media coverage and Congressional hearings on health care fraud (Cook et al., 1983).

Studies of presidential influence on media agendas have had mixed results. Researchers compared the issues highlighted in four presidential State of the Union speeches with issues emphasized by the media before and after the speeches (Gilberg, Eyal, McCombs & Nicholas, 1980; Wanta, Stephenson, Turke & McCombs, 1989). In two instances, President Carter's 1978 address and President Reagan's 1985 speech, the media's agenda appeared to have influenced the president's agenda. However, President Nixon's 1970 speech and President Reagan's 1982 speech both appeared to influence subsequent coverage.

This suggests there may be other values besides coverage of the event shaping the media's response. Hart (1987, p. 115-154) concluded the media, particularly television, use presidential speeches as pegs for what are in effect miniature dramas about an issue. The president is just one player in such dramas, which are explained to the viewer by reporters. This process has in turn influenced presidents to design the settings and rhetoric of speeches with an eye to controlling the media story line.

Internal media values

Researchers also have examined internal media values that influence coverage. A comparison of the coverage of British and American election campaigns showed that some British media are more politically partisan than American media (Semetko et al., 1991). However, the American media made more attempts to provide context with commentary on campaigns that was independent of messages from candidates or political parties. The British media tended to hew more closely to stories defined by politicians.

American journalists cite education and on the job training as the primary influences determining what is news (McCombs, Einsiedel, & Weaver, 1991). However, researchers have identified a more complex and layered set of influences.

The routines of media work result in a preference for covering concrete events as opposed to abstract issues, particularly events that fit media definitions of news (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 221). Weaver (1982, p. 542-543) cites evidence that the coverage of political campaigns tends to ignore broad questions of policy. The media prefer issues that can be described in simple terms, providing a focus for conflict and the separation of candidates. The media attempt to organize news around themes, shaping stories that can appeal to an audience (McCombs et al., 1991, p. 35-39; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 93-94).

Shoemaker and Reese (1991) developed a theoretical model describing a hierarchy of influences on the media agenda. Individual journalists' views are governed by work routines, which in turn are shaped by the media organization's values. External influences such as sources, advertisers and competition in turn act upon the organization. All of these influences are ultimately defined by society's ideological assumptions and beliefs, which set the limits for acceptable interpretations of reality.

Framing coverage

The frame, or reference points, that define an issue are one important influence on the interpretation of reality. Frames can determine decisions. A psychological study (Kahneman & Tversky, 1982) explained how the reference point used to evaluate a decision limits understanding of the decision's consequences. For example, people were asked to imagine going to a play (p. 160). They were asked if they would buy tickets after arriving and discovering they had lost $40. They were also asked if they would buy new tickets after discovering they had lost tickets costing $40. People were more likely to buy tickets after losing the cash. The loss is the same in either case, but the cash is not considered part of the cost of the play. The lost tickets are counted against the cost of the play.

Frames frequently depend on reference points that are only imagined. People with numbers that are close to the winning numbers on a lottery ticket, for example, will be more upset than those with numbers that are farther from the winning sequence (p. 168-169).

Kosicki (1993) explains that media frames use symbols to emphasize some things and exclude others; the frames help organize an understanding of the world. Media frames reflect a preference for elite opinions, and thereby define and limit the discussion of issues (p.111-112). Media preferences for what Shoemaker and Reese (1991) describe as certain story "angles" (p. 99) are also shaped by the routines used to separate "news" from events considered unworthy of coverage.

Reference points in the media can affect the public's evaluation of risks from science and technology (Hornig, 1992). Reference points in opinion survey questions can affect the public's evaluation of affirmative action programs (Fine, 1992).

The importance of personal experience

However, frames presented by the media have varying influence. Researchers (Zucker, 1978; Weaver, 1982) consider issues that directly affect people, such as unemployment and taxes, to be obtrusive. Other issues, such as foreign affairs and government spending, have less presence in most people's lives and are unobtrusive. Researchers argue that the media's influence is strongest in shaping views of unobtrusive issues because people have no personal experience to compare against the media's portrayal of such issues.

Media coverage and personal experience can interact to influence the evaluation of issues. Behr and Iyengar (1985) concluded that for obtrusive issues, conditions in the real world and messages from the president both affect public concerns.

One study (Demers, Craff, Choi & Pessin, 1989) argues that personal experience may actually increase the media's influence because people are, in effect, sensitized to the issue. Previous studies measuring agenda-setting effects for obtrusive and unobtrusive issues had mixed results (p. 795-797). One reason, these researchers argued, was that obtrusiveness was sometimes confused with whether people mentioned an issue in opinion polls. People have had direct experience with obtrusive issues, as opposed to issues they have talked or heard about (p. 798). However, the researchers concluded that their study did not resolve the question of whether personal experience increases agenda-setting effects.

A closely related concept divides issues according to how concrete or abstract they are (Yagade & Dozier, 1990). Some unobtrusive issues, such as budget deficits, are so abstract and complex that people cannot visualize them in terms of concrete events. This subtle distinction may explain evidence that coverage of abstract issues fails to influence the public agenda.

When media frames matter

However, media frames also can have a significant effect. Iyengar and Simon (1993) argue that different frames affect the way people assign responsibility for issues or events. Problems framed according to a consistent theme tend to be viewed as the result of economic conditions or the actions of public officials. Problems framed in an episodic fashion, by focusing on concrete examples such as a homeless person, tend to be viewed as resulting from individual actions (p. 369-379).

Coverage can influence the reference points used to evaluate a president. This is called priming (p. 376-377). Coverage of the 1991 crisis in the Persian Gulf directed public attention away from domestic issues to President Bush's handling of foreign affairs. An earlier study (Iyengar, Peters & Kinder, 1982) found that coverage of domestic issues influenced public evaluations of President Carter.

Media frames also can indirectly affect public perceptions by shaping the questions asked in opinion polls. Dearing (1989) found that polls on AIDS reflected earlier media coverage. He also found some evidence of a "rebound" (p. 326) when stories on poll results resulted in a reappearance of the original issue.

Entman (1991, p. 7) argues that there is a subtle circular relationship between public thinking and media frames. The frames, which are built from news events, are shaped by media organizations and political elites to fit favorably with public thinking on an issue.

Graber (1989) makes a similar argument that television news frames are constructed around cues intended to evoke images stored in the public mind. This allows audiences to fill in missing information for a more complete picture of a story's meaning.

Researchers offering a model of how the media and audiences interact to construct a picture of reality say there is evidence that common frames are used (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992, chap. 4). However, elements within the frames differ significantly. For example, the public tends to measure issues such as AIDS against moral standards, but the media does not make such judgments.

Evaluating the budget

This analysis suggests that the federal budget offers a unique mix of issues. Taxes can be considered obtrusive in the lives of virtually all adult citizens. Government spending, although obtrusive to some, is assumed to be generally less obtrusive than taxes. The deficit, cited as a major factor shaping the budget proposals used in this paper ("Clinton outlines," 1993; "President Reagan's economic proposals," 1981) is considered so unobtrusive that it is an abstraction.[1]

Analysts (Lewis, 1982; Sussman, 1988) who examine opinion polls have concluded that fiscal policy is a mystery to many people and a focus for distrust of government. Lewis (1982) argues that polls showing support for social programs and complaints that taxes are too high demonstrate that people do not connect the two. He concluded that people mistakenly believe that ending government waste can pay for substantial tax cuts. A poll that probed American political attitudes in detail found that concern about the deficit cut across political differences, but most people also opposed higher taxes to solve the problem (Ornstein, Kohut & McCarthy, 1988). Page and Shapiro (1992) consider tax policy "a highly technical realm that is ripe for concealment and mystification" (p. 166).

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[1] A Gallup opinion poll (Gallup & Newport, 1990) found that 90 percent of the public thinks deficit reduction is important, but two-thirds of those polled could not explain why the deficit matters.

The Hypotheses

These elements--theories of influences on the media, framing, and public understanding of budgets--suggest hypotheses about how the media will cover budget proposals:

H_1: The media's dependence on sources to provide news will result in extensive coverage when presidents make budgets a high priority.

H_2: Media preferences for stories of conflict driven by concrete events will result in emphasis of elements conforming to these preferences at the expense of broader policy questions.

H_3: The coverage of budgets will only reflect presidential frames if those frames coincide with the values in Hypothesis 2.

H_4: The media will tend to frame budgets in terms of obtrusive issues such as taxes instead of unobtrusive issues such as spending or deficits because obtrusive issues are more easily understood by the audience.

H_5: The media will usually not make connections between taxes and spending in coverage of budget issues because the relationship is hard to understand. When a link is made, the relationship will not always be clearly explained.

Methodology

Entman (1991) argues that frames are embedded in the seemingly natural choice of words and graphics used to present a news story. Therefore, comparison of narratives is vital to detecting frames. Comparison can highlight differences in the selection of words and images that are reference points for issues (p. 6-8).

This paper analyzes the frames for budget coverage by examining references to taxes and spending, and whether those two elements were connected in a way that explained their relationship. The emphasis placed on different elements of the frame provided a basis for comparison.

The sample

The analysis used the text of presidential speeches, and the articles covering those speeches in *Time* and *Newsweek*. The first budgets that were proposed by President Reagan and by President Clinton represented major initiatives designed to change the way that government does business. However, President Reagan ("President Reagan's economic proposals," 1981) called for cuts in spending and taxes as a way to reduce the deficit and stimulate the economy. President Clinton ("Clinton outlines," 1993) called for cuts in spending and increases in taxes as a way to reduce the deficit. He also called for some new spending as a temporary stimulus to the economy.

The budget coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek* was analyzed because both are major national magazines. Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992, chap. 5) found that people learn more from magazines than from newspapers, and suggested this may be because magazines do a better job of putting issues in context.

Each president gave two speeches introducing his budget, first addressing a national television audience and then a joint session of Congress. President Reagan's speeches were made on February 5, 1981 ("President Reagan's economic policy," 1981) and on February 18, 1981 ("President Reagan's economic proposals," 1981). President Clinton's speeches were made on February 15, 1993 ("Clinton's 'Call to arms,'" 1993) and on February 17, 1993 ("Clinton outlines," 1993). All four speeches were published in *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*.

A library data base search was used to identify relevant coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek*. The search produced 92 pages of coverage in the magazines from February to August of 1981, when a tax cut was approved. The magazines published 90 pages of coverage from February to August of 1993, when a budget passed Congress.

The unit of analysis in text or graphics was a single sentence. Sentences expressing a single thought were also examined together for descriptions of links between taxes and spending. Photographs, cutlines and cartoons were excluded because elements of the frame were unlikely to be explicit in pictures. Each sentence was first coded for mentions of either taxes or spending.[2] Any synonym for taxes, such as revenues, and any synonym for spending, such as budget or a description of a government program, was included.

Any mention of taxes or spending in the same sentence or paragraph was then coded as a connection between the elements of the frame. Finally, explanations of the relationship between taxes and spending were coded. Explanations were broadly defined as including brief descriptions of complex relationships that implied more than was stated. For example, questions about cutting taxes because of concern about increases in the federal deficit were considered explanations. However, simply mentioning taxes and spending in the same sentence or paragraph was not coded as an explanation.

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[2] To avoid counting sentences twice, sentences mentioning only taxes were counted first. Then, sentences mentioning spending were counted even if they also mentioned taxes. Sentences mentioning both taxes and spending were counted again when links were coded.

A total of 3,647 sentences in articles and speeches were identified as containing at least one element of the frame. Approximately 15% of the sentences were randomly selected and coded a second time. Intercoder reliability computed with Holsti's formula was .93.[3]

Findings

One aspect of a media frame is the emphasis given to the news. Magazines emphasize news by putting it on their cover. *Time* and *Newsweek* both made President Reagan's budget speech their cover story on March 2, 1981. *Time's* cover headline was, "The Ax Falls." Inside were 14 pages of text, photographs and graphics. *Newsweek's* coverage included 11 pages inside the magazine.

Both magazines also treated final passage of the tax cut plan as a major event. *Time* had five pages of text, photographs and graphics inside its August 10, 1981, issue. *Newsweek* devoted 8 pages to the tax cut in its August 10, 1981, issue.

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[3] Speeches and articles containing 578 of the sentences were selected at random. The author thanks Tricia Bever, a mature University of South Florida undergraduate, for coding the sentences. Reliability was calculated using the description of Holsti's formula in Wimmer and Dominick (1994, p. 179).

President Clinton's budget proposal received similar coverage. *Time* had two cover stories. The first cover on February 22, 1993, had a headline, "Uncle Bill Wants You: What Clinton's Plan to Raise Taxes Will do to Your Wallet." Inside were 11 pages of text, photographs and graphics. On March 1, 1993, *Time* devoted its cover and 12 inside pages to budget coverage. *Newsweek* covered Clinton's budget speech with the March 1, 1993, cover headline, "Tax, Spend, Cut." Inside there were 17 pages of budget coverage.

Passage of the budget also received extensive coverage. *Time's* cover on August 16, 1993 had a headline, "Overturning the Reagan Era." There were 5 pages of text, photographs and graphics inside. Newsweek had 8 pages of inside coverage.

The emphasis given to each president's budget seems to support H_1 stating extensive coverage will be given to budgets if presidents make federal spending plans a high priority.

Framing taxes and spending in 1981

There were 194 sentences in President Reagan's speeches containing at least one element of the frame. Results from coding these sentences are in Table 1.

Table 1
How Reagan framed taxes and spending in 1981

Category	Totals (N= 194 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	52	26.80%
Spending mentioned	142	73.19%
Taxes and spending linked	21*	10.82%
Links are explained	13*	6.70%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

President Reagan presented his budget with a strong emphasis on government spending, which he wanted to cut. He mentioned spending three times as often as taxes. He made connections between taxes and spending in about 10% of his references to either element, but explained the relationship less often.

The analysis of the magazine coverage examined the use of frames in two separate periods because proposals to cut spending were voted on before Congress considered tax cuts. The spending blueprint passed in May of 1981, and the tax bill was approved in August of 1981. The analysis of *Time's* coverage is presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2
How *Time* framed 1981 coverage from February to May

Category	Totals (N = 581 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	100	17.21%
Spending mentioned	481	82.78%
Taxes and spending linked	58*	9.98%
Links are explained	30*	5.16%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Table 3
How *Time* framed 1981 coverage from May to August

Category	Totals (N = 207 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	147	71.01%
Spending mentioned	60	28.98%
Taxes and spending linked	25*	12.07%
Links are explained	18*	8.69%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Time framed its coverage according to events, focusing on spending when budget cuts were on the table and on taxes afterward. *Time's* coverage reflected the president's emphasis on spending only when the spending bill was being considered. *Time* infrequently mentioned taxes and spending together, and did not always explain the relationship.

The results from the analysis of *Newsweek's* 1981 coverage are presented in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4
How *Newsweek* framed 1981 coverage from February to May

Category	Totals (N = 497 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	152	30.58%
Spending mentioned	345	69.41%
Taxes and spending linked	57*	11.46%
Links are explained	29*	5.83%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Table 5
How *Newsweek* framed 1981 coverage from May to August

Category	Totals (N = 319 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	212	66.45%
Spending mentioned	107	33.54%
Taxes and spending linked	35*	10.97%
Links are explained	22*	6.89%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Newsweek's frames were similar to *Time's*. The coverage focused on events, emphasizing first the spending bill, then the tax bill. This meant that coverage reflected the president's frame only when spending was on the table. *Newsweek* also made few links between spending and taxes, and sometimes did not explain the connection.

The coverage in both magazines was also examined as a whole to determine the overall frame for the entire period. Results are presented in Table 6 and Table 7.

Table 6
Time's 1981 coverage

Category	Totals (N = 788 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	247	31.34%
Spending mentioned	541	68.65%
Taxes and spending linked	83*	10.53%
Links are explained	48*	6.09%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Table 7
Newsweek's 1981 coverage

Category	Totals (N = 816 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	364	(44.6%)
Spending mentioned	452	(55.3%)
Taxes and spending linked	92*	(11.2%)
Links are explained	51*	(6.3%)

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Both magazines put more overall emphasis on taxes than the president did in his speeches. Taxes only represented about a quarter of the elements in the president's frame. *Newsweek* emphasized taxes most frequently, using them as almost half of the elements in its overall frame. *Time* did not mention taxes nearly as often; taxes constituted less than a third of the elements in its overall frame.

However, both magazines linked taxes and spending in similar proportions, which in turn almost matched the proportions of connections made by the president. Reagan made connections between taxes and spending in 10% of his references to either one, explaining the relationship in 6% of his references.

The 1981 results seem to support some of the hypotheses. The magazines' shift as different legislation was considered from an emphasis on spending to an emphasis on taxes seems to support H_2, which states that coverage is driven by events at the expense of broader policy questions. This change in emphasis also seems to support H_3, that coverage only reflects presidential frames--in this instance the emphasis on spending--when those frames coincide with other news values.

The overall results seem to support H_5, which states that the magazines will not usually connect taxes and spending, and will sometimes fail to explain the relationship. The infrequency of connections found in both the president's and magazines' frames also seems to support H_3 because this is another instance when media values may coincide with the president's frame.

However, H_4 stating that magazines will prefer frames using obtrusive issues such as taxes to less obtrusive issues such as spending receives less support from these results. *Newsweek* did emphasize taxes overall considerably more than the president. However, *Time's* overall emphasis on taxes was only slightly stronger that the president's. The different events that apparently drove the coverage make it difficult to interpret this aspect of the results without a more sophisticated statistical analysis.

Framing taxes and spending in 1993

President Clinton's speeches had 158 sentences containing at least one element of the frame. Results from the analysis of his speeches are in Table 8.

Table 8
How President Clinton framed taxes and spending in 1993

Category	Totals (N = 158 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	44	27.84%
Spending mentioned	114	72.15%
Taxes and spending linked	17*	10.75%
Links are explained	11*	6.96%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

President Clinton's use of frames was similar to President Reagan's. Clinton also emphasized spending, talking about government programs or the deficit in almost three quarters of the sentences containing an element of the frame. He also linked taxes and spending infrequently, and explained the relationship even less often.

The 1993 tax and spending proposals were considered and voted on as a package. Therefore, the coverage for the period from February to August was analyzed as a whole. The results are in Table 9 and Table 10.

Table 9
How *Time* framed 1993 coverage

Category	Totals (N = 606 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	316	52.14%
Spending mentioned	290	47.85%
Taxes and spending linked	82*	13.53%
Links are explained	58*	9.57%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending.

Table 10

How *Newsweek* framed 1993 coverage

Category	Totals (N = 1085 sentences)	Percent
Taxes mentioned	483	44.51%
Spending mentioned	602	55.48%
Taxes and spending linked	82*	7.55%
Links are explained	62*	5.71%

*Links are a subset of total mentions of taxes and spending

Both magazines gave taxes considerably more emphasis than the president. However, the degree of emphasis varied. *Time* used the tax element of the frame in more than half of its sentences, while *Newsweek* used taxes in less than half of its sentences. *Newsweek's* coverage still made spending the dominant element. As they did in 1981, both magazines infrequently linked taxes and spending, and then sometimes failed to explain the connection. *Time* linked those elements slightly more often than *Newsweek* did.

Conclusions

These findings must be interpreted with caution. A more sophisticated statistical analysis of the data might cast some findings in a different light.

Still, there are indications that the media--as represented by two major news magazines--tend to use concrete, obtrusive issues to frame budget coverage. The apparent focus on events in 1981 and the emphasis on taxes in 1993 are evidence that a president's bid to influence the media agenda must compete with other values described in the literature review.

The finding that presidential and media frames almost mirror one another in the lack of connections between taxes and spending is striking. However, interpretation of this finding is complicated by a number of factors. The finding may support H_3, representing an instance where a president's frame and the media frame coincide because each has reasons for not making the effort to fully explain complex relationships between tax policy, federal programs, and the deficit. However, this finding may also reflect the difficulty that both parties encounter when trying to explain such relationships.

The research did not attempt to determine whether the explanations offered by the presidents or the media were adequate for ensuring that the audience understood the complex issues at stake. Nonetheless, the infrequent explanations and focus on concrete events imply that the media's focus on budget issues tends to be one dimensional. Larger, more abstract policy questions about the interaction of taxes and spending may be neglected in favor of discussions about the immediate effects from changes in a tax or government program. Discussing such effects is, of course, entirely appropriate and necessary.

However, the seeming neglect of larger issues may mirror public confusion about those aspects of fiscal policy. For example, before President Clinton's budget speeches one poll showed that most Americans were willing to consider increasing taxes and cutting government services to reduce the deficit (Dowd, 1993). After the speeches the president's approval rating increased from 51% to 59% (Moore, 1993). However, the approval rating declined to 38% in June because of increasing skepticism about the fairness of Clinton's tax proposal (Berke, 1993). The day before the final vote in August, another poll (Goodgame, 1993) showed that more than two thirds of the respondents mistakenly believed the middle class, and not relatively wealthy Americans, would pay most of the new taxes. This suggests the analysis in this paper could be expanded by focusing directly on possible connections between public opinion and the frames used by presidents and the media in budget discussions.

This paper also has implications for agenda-setting research in general. The findings suggest that the examination of news frames can provide a tool for understanding the content of media and public agendas. This tool may enable researchers to move beyond explorations of what the media tells the public to think about and examine what the media are actually thinking.

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The Performance of Black Music on *Billboard* Magazine's Pop Music Charts

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The Performance of Black Music on *Billboard* Magazine's Pop Music Charts

> "Because of industry and audience racism, black music has been relegated to a separate and unequal marketing structure. As a result, it is only on rare occasions that black music 'crosses over' into the mainstream on its own terms. The specific practices and mechanisms that tend to institutionalize its exclusion and dilution change over time and, for the most part, remain unchallenged even to this day."
>
> –Music scholar Reebee Garofalo (1990)

Introduction

One of the main goals in popular music is to have top 10 records on the "pop" or mainstream singles and albums[1] charts. Every week, trade publications such as Billboard and Record World, as well as many radio countdown shows, rank the songs and albums using a combination of airplay and sales data. Ascending to the top 10 is a rite of passage that marks an artist as a "star," and at the end of the year, these songs and albums are remembered as the top hits. Although the popular music industry has tended to cater to certain sounds that fit into the mainstream, divergent genres have managed to "cross over" to the pop charts from other narrower charts.[2] These include various types of black music, such as rhythm-and-blues, doo-wop and rap.[3]

The ways in which Billboard magazine, the leading trade journal for the popular music industry, has determined its rankings of popular singles and albums have varied considerably over the years, and this variation has had an impact on which music became popular. The importance of popularity charts in the music business, especially those compiled by the leading trade journal, cannot be overestimated. Program directors and music directors at radio stations look at the charts to see what is popular and what to offer their listeners. They see which songs are doing well on the charts and assume their listeners will also like these songs. This leads to more exposure for the songs, which helps them move up the chart and spurs sales, which in turn helps them move further up the chart. Listeners look at the charts, often posted in music stores, to see what everyone else is listening to and to help in making purchasing decisions. Thus, program directors, music directors, listeners and the charts themselves feed off of each other and affect each other's decisions. As a result, Billboard, as a print medium, influences decisions made within the entire radio and recording industries.

This process tends to marginalize certain genres of music, including black music.[4] Nelson George (1988), among others, has argued that artists performing black music often face the choice of retaining their artistic integrity or conforming to a sound that will enable it to cross over onto the pop charts. It tends to be difficult to retain a strong black identity in the music while also achieving success on the mainstream pop charts. As a result, those performing black music are often confined to the margins of the popular music industry.

The chart compilation method, as an industry practice, is one way in which certain types of music – those that do not fit into a "mainstream" standard – are marginalized.[5] Until 1991, only a very narrow, elite set of record stores and radio stations was included in Billboard magazine's survey of the most popular singles and albums. In addition, the system left room for manipulation of the data. Actual airplay and sales were reported in subjective terms, such as "very good" and "good," and no precise data were ever collected. In May 1991, the Billboard albums chart was converted to a new system, and the singles chart followed in November 1991. Billboard now uses computer technology called Broadcast Data Systems and SoundScan to tabulate its rankings. BDS, used for compiling the singles chart, computes the exact number of times a record is played on the air in 125 markets across the country. SoundScan, used for constructing the singles and albums charts, is able to compile actual sales data from approximately 11,400 locations.

The chart performance of black music has historically reflected the marginalization faced by black people in the larger society. This paper examines the nature of the changes Billboard made and how these changes affected the chart performance of black music, concluding that in some respects, Garofalo is correct: until recently, black music was often relegated to a lower position within the industry hierarchy. At the same time, it appears that Billboard's change in chart compilation method has better reflected black music's role in the popular mainstream.

Theoretical Background

Theories of marginalization based on race, as they relate to society as whole and the practices of society's institutions, can be used to examine how various forms of music are marginalized. In general, a "standard" has been constructed (i.e., "white"), and this standard has become defined as the "mainstream." Those who do not meet this standard are marginalized within society and its institutions. A similar phenomenon occurs in the mass media in general and in the popular music industry specifically.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1986) argue that race is "at the very center of America's political and social history." (ix) Rejecting paradigms that focus on class and ethnicity as the primary site of marginalization, they say, "Race will always be at the center of the American experience" because, more than class or ethnicity, race "establishes boundaries . . . determines the allocation of resources, and frames diverse political issues and conflicts." (4, their emphasis) This emphasis on race has led to the formation of the "racial state" in which race is the "central axis" by which all other social, economic and poltical acts are framed. (60-76) When the state itself becomes racially based, all of its institutions reflect and promote racism as well.

Racism has become institutionalized throughout American society, pervading every facet imaginable, including education and law, in addition to politics and economics.[6] Often, however, the racism is so pervasive as to be invisible; meanings associated with "whiteness" become the "standard," and definitions of what is "mainstream" or "normal" tend to go unchallenged because "the system of racial meanings, of racial identities and ideology, seems 'natural.' " (79) Nonetheless, "in the United States, the black/white color line has historically been rigidly defined and enforced." (60)

Richard Dyer (1988) echoes these themes, noting that "White is no colour because it is all colours" with the ability to simultaneously be "everything and nothing." (45) Citing Herbert Marcuse, Dyer says, "Power in contemporary society habitually passes itself off as embodied in the normal as opposed to the superior." (45) At the same time, members of the dominant race evaluate members of marginalized races with "the sense of oddness, differentness, exceptionality . . . the feeling that they are departures from the norm." (44)

Dyer adds that because whiteness is "everything and nothing," it is difficult for everyone in society, especially white people, to see that a standard of "normalcy" exists and that people of color are defined as outside of the range of "normal." Standards and definitions of being within or without the "mainstream" are taken for granted despite the fact that they are constructions.

These ideas of marginalization can be applied to the mass media as a whole and to the popular music industry specifically. Clint C. Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez (1985) argue that the mass media's need to attract as large and diverse an audience as possible has hurt all groups that are somehow defined as outside of the mainstream, including members of marginalized races. "As a result, media geared for political, national, or racial minorities have been consigned to economic second-class standing, and members of those groups have been either ignored in the mass media . . . or portrayed in ways that made them palatable to the majority." (38) Members of racial minorities have been defined as a "problem" for mass media practioners in two ways: as audience members and as practitioners within mass communication fields. Mass media products created by people of color – news, film, music or other creations for mass consumption – need to assimilate into a mainstream to be accepted by the white majority. This has historically led to a "watering down" of the products in a wide variety of situations, including the way news is handled, stereotyped portrayals on television and in film, and music that does not threaten white listeners.[7]

Jannette Dates and William Barlow (1990) discuss and expand upon activist W.E.B. DuBois' idea that race is "the primary theoretical framework" through which people view themselves and the world. Dates and Barlow take this notion a step further, noting that the mass media replicate this emphasis on race in both the images they portray and in the way they treat employees who are not white. The mass media products and the images they portray contribute to "the ideological hegemony of the dominant white culture [and] legitimate the inequalities in class and race relations." (4) In addition, black performers often find themselves "between the hammer and the anvil with respect to their artistic and racial integrity." (14)

This trend has been historically true throughout the popular music industry. William Barlow (1990) argues that the music must conform to a mainstream standard, and failing to do so often translates into lost sales and performance opportunities for writers, producers and performers.[8] "The cultural biases inherent in the business practices of the managers and producers" who control the industry marginalize those who do not fit a strict standard. (52) Music that lacks a mainstream sound faces "insuperable obstacles" in efforts to secure recording contracts, promotion and, ultimately, sales and airplay on a mass scale. (36) Those performing non-mainstream music often find that the record labels, as well as the public, have "preconceived ideas about how they should sound, and even look." (52)

Music scholar Reebee Garofalo (1990) echoes Barlow's thoughts:

> The history of popular music in this country – at least, in the twentieth century – can be described in terms of a pattern of black innovation and white popularization, which I have referred to elsewhere as "black roots, white fruits." The pattern is built not only on the wellspring of creativity that black artists

> bring to popular music but also on the systematic exclusion of black personnel from positions of power within the industry and on the artificial separation of black and white audiences. Because of industry and audience racism, black music has been relegated to a separate and unequal marketing structure. As a result, it is only on rare occasions that black music "crosses over" into the mainstream on its own terms. The specific practices and mechanisms that tend to institutionalize its exclusion and dilution change over time and, for the most part, remain unchallenged even to this day. (57, footnote omitted)

He concludes, "The category 'black music' is often used to slot black artists, at least initially, into a limited market." (117)

Literature Review

Previous studies have documented the fact that black music has not gained widespread acceptance, and one way this is reflected is through its performance on the pop charts. In his 1988 book, The Death Of Rhythm And Blues, Nelson George argued that many forms of black music – jazz, the blues, 1960s rhythm-and-blues/soul – tend to lose some of their meaning and strong racial identification as they achieve mainstream success. George, a black critic for Billboard, The Village Voice and other publications, linked the history of rhythm-and-blues music and its performance on the pop chart in several ways, noting that "what developed was a deadly feast-or-famine syndrome" in which black music tended to thrive or languish, with very little in the middle of those two extremes. George examined the records that rose to No. 1 on the R & B chart to see how well they performed on the pop chart. At times crossover has been very common, while it has been rare at other times.

Although George focused on the surrounding political, social and economic conditions, his book is useful to this study for two important reasons. First, he argued, as this study does, that the marginalization blacks experience in the larger culture is reflected in similar marginalization in popular culture arenas. Second, he examined chart data to see if black music was able to find mainstream popular success outside of the largely black audiences listening to exclusively R & B radio stations.

A few studies have looked specifically at the chart performance of black music, including one by Bruce Anderson and Peter Hesbacher (1979) that compared country and soul crossover. Examining country and soul songs that rose to No. 1 on the pop chart between 1940 and 1977, they found that approximately twice as many soul songs rose to No. 1 on the pop singles chart (152 soul songs to country's 79). Although this study needs to be updated, it was useful because it examined cross-over records that reached the pinnacle of success – No. 1 on the mainstream pop chart.

Alan Wells (1987) traced the history of black male and female performers by examining the top 50 singles for the years 1955 through 1985. He prefaced the study by saying there are several other ways to measure the success of music, including examinations of top 10 singles, No. 1 singles and No. 1 albums. In any case, studying the charts provides a measure of an artist's or a genre's "success and visibility in popular music." (310) Looking at the top 50 singles for a year broadens the study past the 20 to 35 singles that rise to No. 1 on the weekly rankings each year. Wells found that black females have historically been able to match the chart performance of their white counterparts, while black males have lagged behind white males.[9]

In studying the artists who have popular hits, R. Serge Denisoff and John Bridges (1982) found that about 15% of all pop artists were black. (138) Among black artists, almost 53% performed "soul/rhythm and blues/disco," while another 38% performed jazz.[10] Among all artists, slightly less than 14% performed "soul/rhythm and blues/disco." (138) The study's importance lies in the fact that it attempts to show that black artists and music do not make up a substantial portion of the popular music mainstream.[11]

Research Questions and Method

Although the cited studies are valuable in assessing the performance of black music, none accounts for the ways in which the charts have been compiled. The data are important, but in these studies, the data were assumed without any discussion of how Billboard went about providing its rankings. Given the fact that institutionalized practices can marginalize certain groups, the practices themselves merit examination. Thus, the first question is: How has Billboard magazine compiled its charts, and how have its chart compilation methods changed since 1991? Examining the ways in which Billboard compiled its rankings provides context for the rankings themselves.
The trade journal, as noted earlier, radically changed the way it constructed its charts. Assessing the validity of any data requires knowledge of how the data were gathered. In this case, knowing how the charts were compiled allows an observer to determine whether the charts truly measured and reflected that which they purported to measure.

One area of inquiry that follows from the initial question is whether the new chart compilation methods have better reflected the popularity of black music: To what extent had black music crossed onto the pop mainstream chart before Billboard's methods changed, and to what extent has the level of crossover changed? Put another way, to what extent have the new chart compilation methods led to black music moving out of the margins and into what purports to represent the mainstream?
This paper seeks to expand on Anderson and Hesbacher's study by examining singles that rose to the pop top 10 instead of just those that rose to No. 1. It expands on George's work by looking at all music that crossed over from the R & B charts instead of only music that rose to No. 1 on the R & B chart.

Two methods are used: one for looking at changes in the chart compilation process and one for looking at the data the changes produced. In terms of examining chart compilation methods, Peter Hesbacher, Robert Downing and David Berger (1975) note that insider information about Billboard is very difficult to attain. As the leading trade journal, Billboard has substantial economic interest in keeping its methods as low-profile as possible. While the trade journal did a lot of self-promotion around the time of the changes in 1991, the information was rather vague (see Results). Thus, the information regarding chart compilation methods, both before and after 1991, comes from secondary sources and from Billboard itself.

Looking at the quantitative data generated from the charts required a different method. The weekly rankings on Billboard's Pop Singles and Pop Albums charts were examined over a four-year period from 1989 to 1993. Billboard was chosen because it is generally regarded as the leader among trade journals catering to the popular music industry.[12] Its Pop Singles chart was converted to the current method in November 1991. The two years preceding the conversion (from December 2, 1989, to November 23, 1991, a total of 104 weeks) and following the conversion (from November 30, 1991, to November 27, 1993, a total of 104 weeks) were examined. The Pop Albums chart was converted in May 1991. Again, the two years preceding the conversion (from May 27, 1989, to May 18, 1991, a total of 104 weeks) and following the conversion (from May 25, 1991, to May 15, 1993, a total of 104 weeks) were examined. A period of two years was chosen because it allows examination of equal time periods before and after the conversion. While popular music is constantly changing, these four years have not seen drastic changes in musical styles and popularity (in contrast to choosing a period such as 1962 to 1966, during which the styles did change radically).[13] Because the styles seemed relatively stable, changes in the levels of success achieved by black music may be more directly attributable to changes in chart compilation methods.

Wells' method of assessing popularity was modified for this study. His system involved awarding the No. 1 song for the year 50 points, the No. 2 song 49 points and so on, down to one point for the No. 50 song. Wells' method is useful for several reasons, the most important being that it allows the researcher to measure the strength of a song in comparison to other songs, which is exactly how the Billboard charts operate. His research method has been repeated and modified to fit several situations, and it has proven useful for measuring aggregate popularity of individuals artists (e.g., adding up the points for all songs by an individual artist, such as The Supremes) and of genres (e.g., adding up the points for all country songs).

This study has adapted Wells' point system by awarding points based on a single's or an album's ranking on the weekly charts. For each weekly chart, each album and single was given points based on its chart position, with the No. 1 album or single earning 10 points, the No. 2 album or single earning nine points, down to the No. 10 album or single earning one point. Total points before and after the conversions were tabulated for black music as a whole. Black music was defined as any single or album that appeared on Billboard's R & B singles or albums charts. This way of defining black music was chosen because a single or album can only appear on Billboard's R & B charts if it is receiving airplay on stations that label themselves "black," "rhythm-and-blues," "urban" or "rap." Thus, for purposes of this study, program directors and music directors at these stations decide what fits into the genre.[14] The appearance of a single or an album on the pop chart could occur before or after its appearance on the R & B chart, although historically the overwhleming majority of cross-over hits have moved from the R & B chart to the pop chart.[15] In addition, the number of records to appear at some point in the weekly top 10 was counted for each two-year period. This allowed some comparison between eras and for computation of percentages (i.e., did black music account for more or fewer of the hits during one time period as opposed to the other?). Finally, data such as the number of records or number of points scored were compiled for various subgenres of the umbrella term black music, such as rap and dance music. This was done to see if one subgenre accounted for a major portion of the points scored by black music as a whole.

Results

Chart Compilation Methods

Before 1991, only the 22 largest markets were monitored for the airplay and sales data used to compile the pop singles chart. According to Hesbacher, Downing and Berger (1975), each single was awarded points based on airplay and sales, with airplay points counting for one-third of a record's total and sales counting for two-thirds of the total. (79) The single accumulating the highest number of points during the week-long survey period would be No. 1. Airplay data for the singles chart were determined by surveying 63 stations, none of which labeled themselves "black" stations. Only the stations "with the highest ratings" were included. (78) Each record was assigned points according to its rank on a station's playlist (only the top 30 records earned points), and each station was given a weighting factor based on its market size and rank within that market. A station with the highest listenership in a very large market could have up to six times more influence than a station in a smaller market. Thus the highest-ranked stations in the largest markets had substantially more input.

Sales points for both the albums and singles charts were determined by surveying 110 retail stores in the same 22 markets; those outlets were chosen based on "unit or dollar volume, neighborhood (an indicator of music type), and financial solvency." (78, their parenthesis) The sample included only the largest and highest-volume stores, most often in the neighborhoods where the most money was available for leisure spending. Stores in ethnic neighborhoods and in rural areas were ignored. Sales data were determined in an even more subjective way than airplay data, as Hesbacher et al. noted that the sales data were determined by rating a record's sales with labels such as "very good" and "good." Points were then assigned based on the subjective labels (e.g., "excellent" sales earned the record more points than "good" sales).

After all of the data were collected, singles and albums were ranked and "subjected to additional conversion procedures." (80) These procedures were instituted at the discretion of chart personnel when major discrepancies existed. These procedures meant "the actual chart position may not always [have been] that designated by grand total points." (80)

The chart compilation methods had two major problems. The first was the sample size and scope, as only data from an elite set of record stores and radio stations in the largest markets were used to determine the rankings, omitting major constituencies of record buyers and listeners. This included those who listened to and bought black music. As noted earlier, the radio stations and record stores were chosen based on ratings and sales volume, which, while potentially accounting for the greatest number of listeners and buyers, was hardly representative of all listening and buying constituencies. Second, the data were all subjective, with sales and airplay reported as categories such as "good" and "excellent," not as actual figures. In addition to choosing a limited number of radio stations and record stores within each market, Billboard further limited the sample by relying on only 22 markets, thus eliminating a large portion of the nation.

Each component – airplay and sales – provided easily manipulated data. Program directors determined the airplay rankings, although Billboard never asked how the program directors arrived at their rankings. As a result, the airplay data might not have reflected actual airplay – certain records could have received more or less airplay than actually reported. Program directors supposedly ranked the records based on how much listeners wanted them, but there were no guarantees that the process actually worked this way. In addition, listeners' requests may or may not have made a difference.

Sales data could have been inaccurate as well because they were not based on actual sales figures. In addition, there were no standard criteria for how the labels were assigned (i.e., how many units needed to sell in order to receive a "good" or "very good" rating).

Hesbacher, Downing and Berger (1978) followed their first study by suggesting changes in chart compilation methods that might solve some of the problems described in their initial study. In addition to suggesting that Billboard broaden the range and number of stores and radio stations surveyed, the authors urged Billboard to use an instrument that measured actual sales and airplay instead of relying on subjective evaluations such as "good" and "very good."

Although the 1980s saw Billboard surveying more markets, including small and medium markets, the journal relied on the same subjective reporting – as well as the possible distortion. However, in May 1991, the albums chart was converted to a new system, and the singles chart followed in November 1991. Billboard now uses computer technology called Broadcast Data Systems and SoundScan to tabulate its rankings, and these technologies address many of the concerns Hesbacher, Downing and Berger raised.

BDS, used for compiling the singles chart, monitors airplay from 570 stations in 125 markets.[16] These stations are selected to represent various segments of the widening definition of "top 40": "Top 40 – Mainstream," "Top 40 – Adult" and "Top 40 – Rhythm-Crossover." BDS also provides "gross impressions," jargon for the number of people listening to a station multiplied by the number of times the record was played. (Landes, 1991) Information on how many times a song was played during the week, as well as when it was played (e.g., morning drive time, when listenership is high; overnight, when listenership is considerably lower). While selection of radio stations is still subjective – based on ratings and station format – it is far more representative than the previous system. Besides giving a measure of how much airplay a record actually receives, BDS takes the measurement process out of the hands of program directors, who, as noted earlier, may have not been entirely accurate.

SoundScan, used for compiling the singles and albums charts, is able to compile actual sales data from approximately 11,400 locations. (Landes 1991; Billboard, November 30, 1991, pp. 5, 79; Morris and Boehlert, 1993) A barcoding system is used, eliminating reports from store managers that may or may not have been accurate. The technology also allows Billboard to report exactly how many units were sold during a given week and to determine exactly where the record is popular. The other important component of this change is the range of stores included. Instead of surveying just the elite, high-volume record stores, Billboard now monitors "mom-and-pop" stores in ethnic neighborhoods and small towns; every franchise of major chains such as Musicland; and chain stores that do not sell records exclusively, such as Wal-Mart and K-Mart. Because of the pervasiveness of these outlets, Billboard no longer lists a number of "markets" monitored for sales because it appears that most markets are included in some way.

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Data from the singles and albums charts differed considerably from one another. The data suggest that Billboard's change in chart compilation methods led to better representation for those performing black music in the singles arena. However, the results when examining the albums chart show that the totals for black music declined.

Insert Table A Here

Singles

A total of 5,720 points[17] was awarded for each of the two-year periods. For the two years preceding the conversion in late November 1991, 223 singles accounted for the 5,720 points, while for the two years following the conversion, only 132 singles accounted for the 5,720 points (see Table A). This means that after the conversion, fewer records made the weekly top 10, because, on average, each tended to stay among the top 10 longer than previously.

The new chart compilation method appears to have brought black music into the mainstream on the singles charts. Before the conversion, 102 records featuring black music accounted for 2,803 points, but after the conversion, only 86 black singles accounted for 4,140 points. While it is true that fewer records featuring black music made the weekly top 10, there were fewer top 10 records for all genres (see Table A). Viewing these numbers as percentages puts the data in a different and more powerful light. Before the conversion, black music accounted for 49% of the points and slightly less than 46% of the records. After the conversion, these figures rose to 72% of the points and 65% of the records. So even though fewer records featuring black music appeared, they accounted for a much larger percentage of the records than previously, in addition to accounting for more points. So all in all, black music accounted for more of the mainstream popular singles after the change in chart compilation method.

Insert Table B Here

Examination of individual mega-hits also yields interesting results. As shown on Table B, the most successful single for the two years before the conversion was white singer Bryan Adams' ballad, (Everything I Do) I Do It For You. Five performances of black music ranked among the top 10, and black music accounted for only 10 of the 24 additional singles to score at least 50 points.

Insert Table C Here

Black music was much more successful during the two years after the change in chart compilation methods, as shown on Table C. The four highest-placing singles were all cross-over hits from the R & B chart, including the top single, Boyz II Men's ballad, End Of The Road. Four of the remaining six songs to rank among the top 10 for this period were also cross-over hits. Black music accounted for 17 of the top 20 songs and 22 of the 43 additional singles to score at least 50 points.

Among the subgenres of black music, rap music experienced the greatest increase. Before the conversion, 11 rap songs accounted for 266 points, but after the conversion, 17 rap songs accounted for 874 points. As a percentage of all music, rap accounted for just under 5% of the records and points before the conversion, but almost 13% of the records and more than 15% of the points after the conversion.

Albums

The results from the albums chart are a mixed bag for black music. For the two years preceding the conversion in late May 1991, 87 albums accounted for the 5,720 points, while for the two years following the conversion, 115 albums accounted for the 5,720 points (see Table A). This means that after the conversion, more albums made the weekly top 10, but each tended to stay among the top 10 for less time than previously. This trend also applied to black music: Before the conversion, 25 albums accounted for 2,531 points, but after the conversion, 37 albums accounted for only 1,778 points.

It is useful again to view these data in percentages. Before the conversion, black music accounted for 44% of the points and slightly less than 29% of the albums. After the conversion, these figures declined to only 31% of the points but increasd to 32% of the albums. So even though more albums featuring black music appeared, they accounted for a only a slightly larger percentage than previously, and they accounted for fewer points. In effect, the popularity was spread among more albums.

Insert Table D Here

Examination of individual mega-hits shows that in contrast to the situation on the singles chart, fewer albums featuring black music are becoming huge successes. As shown on Table D, the most successful album for the two years before the conversion was rap singer M.C. Hammer's Please Hammer Don't Hurt 'Em. An additional five albums featuring black music ranked among the top 10 mega-hits for the period, but black music accounted for only five of the 27 additional albums to score at least 50 points.

Insert Table E Here

For the two-year period following the conversion, country singer Garth Brooks' Ropin' The Wind was the most successful album (see Table E). Only three albums featuring black music placed among the top 10 during this period, and black music accounted for eight of the 23 additional albums to score at least 50 points. More black artists achieved a top 10 album after the conversion, but black music's album chart performance was worse in every other way.

Discussion

Garofalo is not entirely correct when he theorizes that black music crossing over is "rare." The data show that crossover is becoming increasingly common, at least on the singles chart. While black music's performance on the singles chart has improved, its performance on the albums chart has worsened. The differences between black music's performance on the singles and albums charts may seem to contradict the thesis that the new chart compilation methods are helping to move black music out of the margins and into the mainstream. However, the charts measure two different activities, and after examining exactly what these numbers represent, it is easier to see how the differing results are theoretically consistent.

The singles chart measures both airplay and sales. For a single to garner airplay, several events must occur. Sufficient promotion is the first ingredient, and although historically black music did not receive enough promotion to receive airplay, the major record labels have come to see that it is in their best economic interests to promote black music.[18] Even with proper promotion, there is no guarantee that key radio stations will play the records, so the second step is that the station must add the record to its playlist. This activity was not necessarily reported to Billboard before the implementation of Broadcast Data Systems, as a top 40 station might have played black music but did not want to report it for fear of being labeled a "black" station while trying to reach a white, suburban audience. These data show that not only is black music being played on the mainstream stations that report to Billboard's pop chart, but also that it is now being counted where before program directors might not have reported it.

A similar analysis can be made when looking at sales data. Before the conversion, some record outlets – perhaps those in suburban malls – might not have admitted that sales of certain non-mainstream types of music were substantial. SoundScan, Billboard's method of measuring actual sales, makes it impossible for record store personnel to manipulate the data. Where store managers could easily fail to report sales of black music, especially sales to white consumers, the barcoding system makes it impossible to change the numbers. Actual figures are reported to Billboard, and subjective labels such as "good" and "very good" are no longer used.[19]

The economic implications of the singles chart must be examined, especially in terms of marginalization theory. One aspect of societal marginalization of people of color is in the economic sphere. In most every economic measure, black people, as a group, are at the bottom. For example, the 1991 median income of blacks was $18,807, compared to whites' $31,569.[20] Given the economic situation of black people as a group, singles crossover makes sense. Most consumer activity that occurs in the singles arena is very low cost. After buying a radio, the consumer is not required to spend any money in order to hear a song on the radio. Thus, there is only a minimal financial component to the airplay portion of the singles chart. The sales component of the singles chart is different from the airplay component, as the consumer is required to spend money. However, buying a single is substantially less expensive than buying an entire album. A cassette single costs approximately $3.49, while a cassette album is usually listed at $10.98. For the same amount of money, a consumer can buy three singles, and this can have a greater impact on the singles chart than buying one album would have.

On the other hand, the albums chart is determined solely on sales statistics. A different set of consumers is buying albums, one that can better afford the substantially higher prices. With black consumers at the bottom of the economic scale relative to other groups, it makes sense that they are buying fewer albums, while historically white genres thrive.

The fact that blacks tend to have less money to spend on albums can be seen by looking at another set of statistics from the albums charts. Two historically white genres, country music and heavy metal/hard rock, experienced substantial increases after the chart compilation method was changed to measure actual sales.[21] Before the conversion, 12 heavy metal/hard rock albums, by artists such as Aerosmith, AC/DC and Poison, accounted for 428 points (almost 14% of the albums and 7% of the points). After the conversion, this genre accounted for 22 albums and 1,013 points (19% of the albums and almost 18% of the points). Country music's increase has been even more dramatic, moving from no representation before the conversion to 11 albums accounting for 1,063 points after the conversion (almost 10% of the albums and almost 19% of the points). As noted before, this includes the most popular album during this period, Garth Brooks' Ropin' The Wind.

While country music and heavy metal/hard rock have been marginalized in other ways, they remain white genres in terms of both the performers and audiences.[22] In terms of economics, then, it is theoretically consistent that the new measurement system has led to a decline in black music's performance on the album chart. Doing well under the new system takes a lot of money. Black people tend to be marginalized throughout all the institutions of society, including within the economic sphere.

At first glance, the contrast between album sales and singles airplay and sales might suggest that mainstream radio stations are not necessarily playing the music that is selling the most. In reality, they do appear to be playing the highest-selling singles, while the albums that sell the most are not necessarily spawning hit singles.
For example, Garth Brooks has yet to have a single hit the pop chart despite the mainstream popularity of his albums and the success his singles have had on the

country singles chart.

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The social implications of marginalization merit brief examination as well. Given society's racial boundaries, substantial singles crossover makes sense. According to the theorists described earlier, race is the primary identifier in this society. This is manifested in the choices consumers make. The chart data illustrate another example of white music becoming the standard, and anything a consumer might enjoy outside of this standard is marginalized. White customers might buy a black single, and this would not necessarily lead to being associated with black culture, especially if it is on the mainstream pop chart. It can be rationalized by the argument that it is simply one record and has little meaning. However, buying a black album might be seen as too risky. This can be seen as crossing the racial lines the theorists describe. Using one of Omi and Winant's key terms is useful: It might not seem "natural" for a white consumer to buy black music. At the same time, Dyer's paradigm fits well. White consumers making too much of an investment in black music will be seen as "departures from the norm."[23] Just as radio station program directors and record store managers may not want to be labeled "black," customers face the same consequences if they dare cross the racial identification lines. While popular culture is often ahead of the rest of the society when it comes to appreciating diversity, certain limits always remain.

The results are also consistent when compared to previous studies of black music's chart performance. George, Anderson and Hesbacher, and Wells concluded that black music tended to be marginalized, especially during certain eras, and they used chart data to show varying levels of marginalization. While they only looked at singles charts, their studies are comparable to one part of this study. Their data, as noted earlier, did not account for how the data were determined by Billboard. The data from this study not only confirm their findings but also point to the chart compilation method as part of the explanation. It is difficult to speculate on how those studies would compare to this study had they examined data for albums as well.

Conclusions and Areas for Further Exploration

Chart compilation methods matter much more than they would appear, especially for non-mainstream genres. As noted earlier, the charts' importance – as a barometer of popularity and as a guide to station and record store personnel – cannot be overemphasized, and as a result, the way the charts are compiled cannot be ignored.

Obviously, it is impossible to show that racism was institutionalized in the popular music industry through chart compilation methods, but this study has shown that newer technologies that provide more precise and accurate data better represent the popularity of black music. The subjectivity allowed under previous methods may have led to the marginalization of those who performed black music, while the current method allows fewer opportunities for manipulating the data.

As this relates to the larger problems of racism in society, and the way its institutions reflect and reinforce racism, mass media operate within the "racial state," its institutions and its cultural values. As a result of being part of a larger structure, the mass media, and the popular music industry, tend to utilize similar racist practices. If we are to alleviate racism within the larger society, the roles of its individual institutions and their practices must be addressed. In this light, Billboard's change in chart compilation methods can be viewed as a way of addressing institutionalized marginalization. Billboard has examined one institutionalized practice and has reformed it to more accurately reflect the realities of the popular music industry. This is not to say Billboard changed its methods because it wanted to address racism within the music industry: without a doubt, it was a business decision with the trade journal's own interests – solidifying its place as the leading popular music industry trade journal – in mind. The new methods increase Billboard's credibility for those who use the data. Billboard's motives aside, the BDS/SoundScan system has at least improved the odds of black music crossing over, but this development is only a partial response to the problems of marginalization within popular music.

This paper addresses only one part of the process of marginalization and should be considered a pilot study. A more complex analysis to document the effects of the previous chart compilation methods, especially now that the BDS/SoundScan system provides data for comparison, could broaden the scope past the top 10 records each week to examine how many hits on the R & B charts successfully crossed over into the weekly pop top 40 or top 100. Many singles do cross over and receive airplay on mainstream stations without being successful enough to rank in the weekly top 10. Nonetheless, the data could serve as a useful measure of the performance of a marginalized genre within the broader mainstream.

This paper also assumed a certain amount of dishonesty on the parts of those on the frontlines: record store and radio station personnel. A project that incorporated surveys – or, preferably, in-depth interviews with relevant people – could add understanding to the process beyond the explanation of who participated and how they were asked to evaluate the records' popularity.

More detailed audience analysis could also yield important insights. While this study looked at income as a measure of wealth, future studies could examine racial demographics in terms of how much money is actually spent on leisure activities, specifically mass media products. Examinations of age differences between singles and album buyers could also explain some of the data.

Finally, the chart performance of other marginalized genres, especially heavy metal/hard rock and country music, should be examined more closely.

Notes

1 The terms "album" and "record" will be used to represent vinyl, tape and compact disc configurations.

2 Billboard has historically compiled dozens of charts that measure the popularity of narrower types of music in addition to its catch-all pop singles and albums charts. Although the names have changed over the years, these charts include, for singles, R & B (also called "Black" and "Soul" at various times), Country (also called "Country and Western"), Adult Contemporary (also called "Easy Listening"), Dance, Album Rock, Modern Rock, and Rap. Album charts have included R & B, Country, Classical, Jazz, Latin, New Age, World Music, Reggae, Contemporary Christian, and Gospel.

3 Whether it crosses over or not, the financial implications associated with black music are astounding. In 1990, approximately $7.5 billion was spent on popular music, and $1.37 billion, or 18.3 percent, was spent was spent on black, urban or rhythm-and-blues music. Two major labels, MCA and Warner, reported that their black music divisions accounted for substantial portions of their gross incomes, 50 percent and 25 percent, respectively. See Christopher Vaughn, "Pumping Up The Jam For Profits," Black Enterprise 22 (December 1991): 50-68.

4 It should be noted that performing black music is not necessarily the same as being a black musician. Being a black musician does not guarantee success on the black music charts, and the converse is true as well: being a white musician does not preclude success on the black music charts (white artists such as Taylor Dayne have been successful performing black music). As a result, "black music" is defined as music that fits into any genre historically associated with black communities – regardless of the performer's race – including jazz, the blues, doo-wop, rhythm-and-blues, soul, reggae and rap. See also pp. 9-10.

5 Other industry practices, such as artist recruitment and development, promotion methods, radio station playlist selection and record store sales strategies, also tend to marginalize divergent forms of music. While important, each would require a separate paper to fully analyze.

6 For an examination of institutionalized racism within the law, see Derrick Bell, Race, Racism and American Law, Third Edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1992). For an examination of institutionalized racism within education, see Jonathan Kozol, Savage Inequalities: Children In America's Schools (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991).

7 For excellent analyses of how the process of defining news tends to marginalize a substantial portion of the population and favor an elite, see Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1980); Mark Hollingsworth, The Press and Political Dissent (London: Pluto Press Limited, 1986); Edward Said,

Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World (New York: Random House, 1981); and Gaye Tuchman Making News, (New York: Macmillan/The Free Press, 1978).

For excellent analyses of stereotypes on television and in film, see Donald Bogle, Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films (New York: Viking Press, 1973); Patricia Erens, The Jew in American Cinema (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1984); Lester Friedman, Hollywood's Image of the Jew (New York: Ungar, 1982); J. Fred MacDonald, Blacks and White TV: Afro-Americans in Television Since 1948 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983); and Randall M. Miller, ed., The Kaliedoscopic Lens: How Hollywood Views Ethnic Groups (Englewood, N.J.: Jerome S. Ozer Publisher, 1980).

8 Barlow spends a considerable part of his chapter discussing the economic ramifications of racist business practices of the recording studios, but that is outside the scope of this paper.

9 Wells used similar methodology to examine the success of women artists on the pop charts in the United States and Great Britain. See, "Women in Popular Music: Changing Fortunes from 1955 to 1984," Popular Music and Society 10, no. 4 (1986): 73-85; and "Women on the Pop Charts: A Comparison of Britain and the United States, 1960-88," Popular Music and Society 15, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 25-32. See also, Peter Hesbacher and Bruce Anderson, "Hit Singers' Careers Since 1940: Have Women Advanced?" Popular Music and Society 7, no. 3 (1980): 132-139; and Peter Hesbacher, Nancy Clasby, H. Gerald Clasby and David G. Berger, "Solo Female Vocalists: Some Shifts in Stature and Alterations in Song," Popular Music and Society 5, no. 5 (1977): 1-16.

10 Denisoff and Bridges defined jazz music as part of the popular mainstream, while Billboard does not.

11 Other studies have examined chart performance of country music. See, e.g., the author's unpublished paper from 1993, " 'Here You Come Again': Country Music's Performance on the Pop Singles Chart from 1955 to 1992," which found that country music's ability to cross over has fluctuated widely over the years.

Several scholars have examined the role of record label ownership in product diversity. The link between ownership and diversity of the music is important for "divergent" genres like black music, but these studies do not examine chart performance of genres or even individuals. Instead, these studies tend to cover ideas such as the numbers of new artists. See, e.g., Richard A. Peterson and David Berger, "Cycles in Symbolic Production: The Case of Popular Music," American Sociological Review 40 (April 1975): 158-174; Robert Burnett, "The Implications of Ownership Changes on Concentration and Diversity in the Phonogram Industry," Communication Research 19, no. 6 (December 1992): 749-769; and Paul Lopes, "Innovation and Diversity in the Popular Music Industry, 1969 to 1990," American Sociological Review 57, no. 1 (February 1992): 56-71.

12 See Peter Hesbacher, "Record World and Billboard Charts Compared: Singles Hits, 1970-1979," Popular Music And Society 8, no. 2 (1981): 101-112. See also Hesbacher et al. (1975).

13 The Beatles' arrival in the United States in 1964 changed the landscape considerably, as they and other British groups brought a harder, guitar-driven sound that replaced the softer, harmony-driven sounds prevalent during the early 1960s.

14 The music on the R & B chart encompasses several genres, including rhythm-and-blues, rap and dance music. A few scholars have attempted to articulate systematic definitions of what constitutes "black music." See, e.g., Austin B. Caswell, "What Is Black Music?" Music Journal 27, no. 8 (October 1969): 31; and Doris Evans McGinty, "Black Scholars on Black Music: The Past, the Present, and the Future," Black Music Research Journal 13, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1-13.

For a description of how local stations form their playlists, see Eric Rothenbuhler and Tom McCourt, "Commerical Radio and Popular Music: Process of Selection and Factors of Influence," in Popular Music and Communication, 2nd ed., ed. James Lull (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1992): 101-115.

15 This can be seen by comparing the dates of entry on the R & B chart to those on the pop chart. See Joel Whitburn, Joel Whitburn's Top R & B Singles, 1942-1988 (Menomonee Falls, Wis.: Record Research Inc., 1988) and Joel Whitburn, Joel Whitburn's Top Pop Singles, 1955-1990 (Menomonee Falls, Wis.: Record Research Inc., 1991).

16 The information in this paragraph is taken from the May 27, 1994, issue of the Top 40 Airplay Monitor, a weekly supplement that focuses exclusively on airplay data. Billboard publishes supplements for the top 40, country, R & B and adult contemporary formats separately from its regular issue. They are available by subscription only.

17 Each week, 55 points were awarded (10 points for the No. 1 song, nine points for the No. 2 song, etc). There were 104 weeks in each period (55 times 104 equals 5,720).

18 See, e.g., Christopher Vaughn, "Pumping Up The Jam For Profits," Black Enterprise 22 (December 1991): 50-68.

19 This does not preclude the possibility that the data were and/or are being manipulated by Billboard employees, but that is the subject for another paper.

20 Statistical Abstract of the United States 1993. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993): 457.

21 Heavy metal/hard rock was defined to mean music that features harsh sounds, loud guitars and often negative lyrics. This includes grunge bands such as Nirvana and Pearl Jam but leaves out traditional rock performers such as Bruce Springsteen and Genesis, whose music lacks the rough edges of harder rock and has moved into the

musical mainstream.

The statistics for country music come from singles and albums that appeared on both the pop and the country charts.

22 Listeners of heavy metal/hard rock tend to be younger, while those who listen to country music tend to be of lower socioeconomic status and from non-urban areas, so the marginalization tends to occur along age and class lines. In any case, the listeners do not fit into the standard mainstream of society. See, e.g., Bill C. Malone, Country Music U.S.A.: A Fifty-Year History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); and Robert K. Oermann, "How Garth Conquered America: Marketing the New Nashville," Journal of Country Music 14, no. 3 (Summer 1989): 16-21. These data suggest that Billboard's new system is more conducive to many forms of marginalized music. Totals for the three genres – black music, heavy metal/hard rock and country music – increased from 2,959 points, or 52% of the available points, before the conversion to 3,854 points, more than 67%, after the conversion. The implications of this finding are important but not within the scope of this paper.

23 On the other hand, white adolescents have frequently bought black music precisely because it is not the "norm," and is instead an act of rebellion. This has been true of genres dating back to jazz and the blues and as recent as disco and rap music. See, e.g., Jim Miller, ed., The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll (New York: Random House, 1980); Steve Perry, " 'Ain't No Mountain High Enough': The Politics of Cross-Over," in Facing The Music ed. Simon Frith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988): 51-87; and Mary Wilson, Dreamgirl: My Life as a Supreme (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986).

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Table A – Point Distribution: Singles and Albums Before and After the Change in Compilation Method

	Before Conversion				After Conversion			
Singles	**Total Points:**	5720	**Total Singles:**	223	**Total Points:**	5720	**Total Singles:**	132
	Points – Black Music:	2803	**Singles – Black Music:**	102	**Points – Black Music:**	4140	**Singles – Black Music:**	86
	Percentage:	49.00%	**Percentage:**	45.74%	**Percentage:**	72.38%	**Percentage:**	65.15%
Albums	**Total Points:**	5720	**Total Albums:**	87	**Total Points:**	5720	**Total Albums:**	115
	Points – Black Music:	2531	**Albums – Black Music:**	25	**Points – Black Music:**	1778	**Albums – Black Music:**	37
	Percentage:	44.25%	**Percentage:**	28.74%	**Percentage:**	31.08%	**Percentage:**	32.17%

Sources: Billboard magazine singles charts, December 2, 1989 - November 27, 1993;
Billboard magazine albums charts, May 27, 1989 - May 15, 1993

Table B – Billboard's Top Ranking Singles Before The Conversion: December 2, 1989 - November 23, 1991

Title - Artist (Year, Peak Position on the Weekly Top 10)	Points
(Everything I Do) I Do It For You - Bryan Adams (1991, 1)	90
Because I Love You - Stevie B (1990, 1)	**78**
Rush Rush - Paula Abdul (1991, 1)	**78**
Another Day In Paradise - Phil Collins (1989, 1)	73*
Nothing Compares To You - Sinead O'Connor (1990, 1)	71
I Wanna Sex U Up - Color Me Badd (1991, 2)	**68**
One More Try - Timmy T (1991, 1)	68
Vogue - Madonna (1990, 1)	66
Gonna Make You Sweat - C&C Music Factory (1991, 1)	**62**
Escapade - Janet Jackson (1990, 1)	**61**
Hold On - Wilson-Phillips (1990, 1)	61
Blaze Of Glory - Jon Bon Jovi (1990, 1)	60
Justify My Love - Madonna (1991, 1)	60
Unbelievable - EMF (1991, 1)	60
From A Distance - Bette Midler (1990, 2)	59
It Must've Been Love - Roxette (1990, 1)	59
Love Takes Time - Mariah Carey (1990, 1)	59
Emotions - Mariah Carey (1991, 1)	**58**
Vision Of Love - Mariah Carey (1990, 1)	**58**
More Than Words - Extreme (1991, 1)	57
We Didn't Start The Fire - Billy Joel (1989, 1)	57*
Someday - Mariah Carey (1991, 1)	**56**
Opposites Attract - Paula Abdul and The Wild Pair (1990, 1)	**55**
Poison - Bell Biv Devoe (1990, 3)	**55**
I Adore Mi Amor - Color Me Badd (1991, 1)	**54**
Step By Step - New Kids On The Block (1990, 1)	54
The First Time - Surface (1991, 1)	**54**
Baby Baby - Amy Grant (1991, 1)	53
I Like The Way (The Kissing Game) - Hi-Five (1991, 1)	**53**
All I Wanna Do Is Make Love To You - Heart (1990, 2)	52
All The Man That I Need - Whitney Houston (1991, 1)	**52**
Cream - Prince and the New Power Generation (1991, 1)	**52**
Don't Know Much - Linda Ronstadt and Aaron Neville (1989, 2)	51*
Release Me - Wilson-Phillips (1990, 1)	50

* Single was in the top 10, and earned points, before December 2, 1989. The points listed include the title's entire chart run.

Bold print indicates black music.

Points were calculated by awarding 10 points for each week a single ranked No. 1, nine points for each week it ranked No. 2, and so on, down to one point for each week it ranked No. 10.

Source: Billboard magazine singles charts, December 2, 1989 - November 23, 1991

Table C – Billboard's Top Ranking Singles After The Conversion: November 30, 1991 - November 27, 1993

Title - Artist (Year, Peak Position on the Weekly Top 10)	Points
End Of The Road - Boyz II Men (1992, 1)	**162**
Whoomp! (There It Is) - Tag Team (1993, 2)	**157***
I Will Always Love You - Whitney Houston (1992, 1)	**153**
Freak Me - Silk (1993, 1)	**137**
All That She Wants - Ace Of Base (1993, 2)	125*
Can't Help Falling In Love - UB40 (1993, 1)	124
If Ever I Fall In Love - Shai (1992, 2)	**123**
That's The Way Love Goes - Janet Jackson (1993, 1)	**120**
Baby Got Back - Sir Mix-A-Lot (1992, 1)	**118**
Jump - Kris Kross (1992, 1)	**114**
Again - Janet Jackson (1993, 2)	**112***
Dreamlover - Mariah Carey (1993, 1)	**111**
Hero - Mariah Carey (1993, 1)	**111**
Weak - SWV (1993, 1)	**110**
Baby-Baby-Baby - TLC (1992, 2)	**107**
I'd Do Anything For Love (But I Won't Do That) - Meatloaf (1993, 1)	105*
Informer - Snow (1993, 1)	**103**
Save The Best For Last - Vanessa Williams (1992, 1)	**101**
Rump Shaker - Wreckx-n-Effect (1992, 2)	**99**
Nothin' But A "G" Thang - Dr. Dre (1993, 2)	**96**
All 4 Love - Color Me Badd (1992, 1)	**90**
I'd Die Without You - PM Dawn (1992, 3)	**89**
Black Or White - Michael Jackson (1991, 1)	**87**
Tears In Heaven - Eric Clapton (1992, 2)	87
I'm Too Sexy - Right Said Fred (1992, 1)	83
Under The Bridge - Red Hot Chili Peppers (1992, 2)	83
Knockin' Da Boots - H-Town (1993, 3)	**80**
Sometimes Love Just Ain't Enough - Patty Smyth and Don Henley (1992, 2)	79
My Lovin' (You're Never Gonna Get It) - En Vogue (1992, 2)	**78**
In The Still Of The Nite - Boyz II Men (1992, 3)	**73**
A Whole New World - Peabo Bryson and Regina Belle (1993, 1)	**71**
How Do You Talk To An Angel - The Heights (1992, 1)	70
To Be With You - Mr. Big (1992, 1)	70
I Love Your Smile - Shanice (1992, 2)	**69**
I'll Be There - Mariah Carey (1992, 1)	69
November Rain - Guns 'N' Roses (1992, 3)	63
Remember The Time - Michael Jackson (1992, 3)	**62**
Can't Let Go - Mariah Carey (1992, 2) (1991)	**61****
This Used To Be My Playground - Madonna (1992, 1)	61
Gangsta Lean - DRS (1993, 4)	**60***
It's So Hard To Say Goodbye To Yesterday - Boyz II Men (1991, 2)	**60****

* Single was in the top 10, and earned points, after November 27, 1993. The points listed include the title's entire chart run.

** Single was in the top 10, and earned points, before November 30, 1991.

Bold print indicates black music.

Table C (continued) – Billboard's Top Ranking Singles After The Conversion: November 30, 1991 - November 27, 1993

Title - Artist (Year, Peak Position on the Weekly Top 10)	Points
I Have Nothing - Whitney Houston (1993, 4)	**58**
Right Here (Human Nature) - SWV (1993, 2)	**58**
Humpin' Around - Bobby Brown (1992, 3)	**57**
Just Kickin' It - Xscape (1993, 3)	**56***
Ordinary World - Duran Duran (1993, 3)	56
Rhythm Is A Dancer - Snap (1993, 5)	**56**
Love Is - Vanessa Williams and Brian McKnight (1993, 3)	**53**
Don't Let The Sun Go Down On Me - Elton John and George Michael (1992, 1)	52
Saving Forever For You - Shanice (1993, 4)	**52**
Diamonds And Pearls - Prince and the N.P.G. (1992, 3)	**51**
Don't Walk Away - Jade (1993, 4)	**50**
Jump Around - House Of Pain (1992, 3)	**50**

* Single was in the top 10, and earned points, after November 27, 1993. The points listed include the title's entire chart run.

** Single was in the top 10, and earned points, before November 30, 1991.

Bold print indicates black music.

Points were calculated by awarding 10 points for each week a single ranked No. 1, nine points for each week it ranked No. 2, and so on, down to one point for each week it ranked No. 10.

Source: Billboard magazine singles charts, November 30, 1991 - November 27, 1993

Table D – Billboard's Top Ranking Albums Before The Conversion: May 27, 1989 - May 18, 1991

Title - Artist (Year, Peak Position on the Weekly Top 10)	Points
Please Hammer Don't Hurt 'Em - M.C. Hammer (1990, 1)	**406**
Forever Your Girl - Paula Abdul (1989, 1)	**362***
Mariah Carey - Mariah Carey (1991, 1)	**331****
Girl You Know It's True - Milli Vanilli (1989, 1)	**300**
Rhythm Nation 1814 - Janet Jackson (1989, 1)	**276**
Wilson Phillips - Wilson Phillips (1990, 2)	272**
Hangin' Tough - New Kids On The Block (1989, 1)	211*
To The Extreme - Vanilla Ice (1990, 1)	**200**
The Raw And The Cooked - Fine Young Cannibals (1989, 1)	163*
Full Moon Fever - Tom Petty and The Heartbreakers (1989, 3)	145
. . . But Seriously - Phil Collins (1990, 1)	137
I'm Your Baby Tonight - Whitney Houston (1990, 4)	**125**
Storm Front - Billy Joel (1989, 1)	123
I Do Not Want What I Haven't Got - Sinead O'Connor (1990, 1)	121
Poison - Bell Biv Devoe (1990, 5)	**113**
Pump - Aerosmith (1989, 5)	98
Soul Provider - Michael Bolton (1990, 3)	96
Don't Be Cruel - Bobby Brown (1989, 2)	**93***
The Immaculate Collection - Madonna (1991, 2)	87
"Batman" Soundtrack (1989, 1)	**84**
Cosmic Thing - The B-52s (1990, 4)	84
Repeat Offender - Richard Marx (1989, 1)	81
"Pretty Woman" Soundtrack (1990, 3)	80
Steel Wheels - The Rolling Stones (1989, 3)	80
Gonna Make You Sweat - C+C Music Factory (1991, 2)	**78****
I'm Breathless - Madonna (1990, 2)	77
Step By Step - New Kids On The Block (1990, 1)	76
The Razors Edge - AC/DC (1990, 3)	76
Nick Of Time - Bonnie Raitt (1990, 10)	70
Like A Prayer - Madonna (1989, 1)	69*
"Beaches" Soundtrack (1989, 2)	63*
Dr. Feelgood - Motley Crue (1989, 1)	62
The Soul Cages - Sting (1991, 2)	62
Shake Your Money Maker - The Black Crowes (1991, 4)	60**
Brigade - Heart (1990, 3)	58
Flesh And Blood - Poison (1990, 2)	55
Rhythm Of The Saints - Paul Simon (1990, 4)	51

* Album was in the top 10, and earned points, before May 27, 1989. The points listed include the title's entire chart run.

** Album was in the top 10, and earned points, after May 18, 1991. The points earned after May 18, 1991, are reflected on Table E.

Bold print indicates black music.

Points were calculated by awarding 10 points for each week an album ranked No. 1, nine points for each week it ranked No. 2, and so on, down to one point for each week it ranked No. 10.

Source: Billboard magazine album charts, May 27, 1989 - May 18, 1991

Table E – Billboard's Top Ranking Albums After The Conversion: May 25, 1991 - May 15, 1993

Title - Artist (Year, Peak Position on the Weekly Top 10)	Points
Ropin' The Wind - Garth Brooks (1991, 1)	356
Unplugged - Eric Clapton (1993, 1)	354**
Some Gave All - Billy Ray Cyrus (1992,1)	319**
"The Bodyguard" Soundtrack - Whitney Houston (1992, 1)	294**
The Chase - Garth Brooks (1992, 1)	226**
Breathless - Kenny G (1993, 2)	216**
Totally Krossed Out - Kris Kross (1992, 1)	**193**
Ten - Pearl Jam (1992, 2)	183**
Nevermind - Nirvana (1992, 1)	180
Unforgettable - Natalie Cole (1991, 1)	**152**
Time, Love and Tenderness - Michael Bolton (1991, 1)	151*
No Fences - Garth Brooks (1992, 3)	147
Metallica - Metallica (1991, 1)	134
Timeless (The Classics) - Michael Bolton (1992, 1)	133
Dangerous - Michael Jackson (1991, 1)	**131**
Too Legit To Quit - Hammer (1991, 2)	**113**
Blood Sugar Sex Majik - Red Hot Chili Peppers (1992, 3)	103
Spellbound - Paula Abdul (1991, 1)	**103**
Gonna Make You Sweat - C+C Music Factory (1991, 4)	98*
Cooleyhighharmony - Boyz II Men (1991, 3)	**97**
Adrenalize - Def Leppard (1992, 1)	96
Luck Of The Draw - Bonnie Raitt (1991, 2)	95
Use Your Illusion II - Guns 'N' Roses (1991, 1)	89
For Unlawful Carnal Knowledge - Van Halen (1991, 1)	87
MTV Unplugged EP - Mariah Carey (1992, 3)	78
The Chronic - Dr. Dré (1993, 3)	78**
Out Of Time - R.E.M. (1991, 1)	76*
Achtung Baby - U2 (1991, 1)	74
Pocket Full Of Kryptonite - Spin Doctors (1993,3)	73**
C.M.B. - Color Me Badd (1991, 3)	**68**
"Boomerang" Soundtrack (1992, 4)	**64**
Ten Summoner's Tales - Sting (1993, 2)	53**
Automatic For The People - R.E.M. (1992, 2)	51

* Album was in the top 10, and earned points, before May 25, 1991. The points earned before May 25, 1991, are reflected on Table D.

** Album was in the top 10, and earned points, after May 15, 1993. The points listed include the title's entire chart run.

Bold print indicates black music.

Points were calculated by awarding 10 points for each week an album ranked No. 1, nine points for each week it ranked No. 2, and so on, down to one point for each week it ranked No. 10.

Source: Billboard magazine album charts, May 25, 1991 - May 15, 1993

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IS THE COVER A MIRROR?

AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN ECONOMIC NEWS CONTENTS IN TIME AND NEWSWEEK

A Paper Presented Before
The 77th Annual Conference Of
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Abstract ii

Text

Introduction 1

Review Of The Literature 1

Methodology 10

Findings 14

Discussion & Conclusion 20

Tables & Charts

Table 1: Selected Correlation Coefficients 25

Table 2: Selected Coefficients of Determination 26

Table 3: Key To Variables In Tables 1 And 2 27

Chart 1: Plot Of Economic Covers Versus Inflation 28

Chart 2: Plot Of Potential Curve Fits 29

Footnotes 30

ABSTRACT

An examination of economic news gatekeeping in Time and Newsweek during the period 1971-1990 that compares the results of a content analysis of these newsmagazines' cover stories to a series of concurrent economic indicators and public opinion poll results, suggesting that economic news content production at Time and Newsweek during this period bore some definable correlative relationship to changes in the U.S. economy and to changes in domestic public opinion about the economy.

INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of economic news coverage in Time and Newsweek during the years 1971-1990, which uses the gatekeeping model to explore how economic and public opinion forces may have affected economic news content production. Using a content analysis of all cover stories appearing in the two newsmagazines during the study period and then comparing statistics derived from the appearance of economic-related cover stories within this period to a series of concurrent economic indicators and concurrent economic public opinion poll results, the study suggests that the production of economic news content at Time and Newsweek during this period bore some definable correlative relationship to changes in the U.S. economy and to changes in public opinion about the economy, and thereby reflected the influences of external forces to the newsroom on these magazines' internal news gatekeeping processes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Gatekeeping, as the process of directing and restricting flows of news information is commonly called, has given mass communication researchers a conceptual structure for comparing news as a form of media content with other measures of our "reality,"[1] facilitating the study of whether the process of selection in mass communications results in media content that somehow reflects a reality outside its place as a part of reality as a whole.[2] The concept of gatekeeping has therefore lent researchers an analytical tool and theoretical framework linking the internal processing of news information into news content within a news organization to part of a larger process taking place outside a news organization's direct control.

Application of the gatekeeping concept and of the term "gatekeeper" to communication processes is first credited to the late sociologist, Kurt Lewin.[3] Lewin introduced and used the term in an analysis of food selection for family consumption in work published from 1943 to 1947,[4] notably writing in his 1947 work of "the traveling of a news item through certain communication channels in a group."[5] Soon after Lewin's publication, the concept of the gatekeeper and of gatekeeping was quickly embraced by mass communication researchers, beginning in 1950 with David Manning White, who studied the gatekeeping choices of an anonymous small-city newspaper telegraph editor he named "Mr. Gates."[6] Since White's preliminary work, gatekeeping studies and models have evolved to attempt to understand the various influences and outcomes of gatekeeping decisions in the news content production process of the mass media.

In the process of understanding how "what is news" is produced, researchers have also looked at the values that journalists and journalism organizations use to determine what is news. Standard journalism textbooks point to the impact of a news event, its weight, controversy, emotion, uniqueness, prominence, proximity, timeliness, currency, and educational value, among other values. Other sources and studies point to different values, such as those expressing the superiority of capitalism, individualism, ethnocentrism, and other more socially complex factors.

The result, however, of these infinite differences in individual human understanding, is that these values when operationalized are as equally subjective and in themselves not easily quantifiable measures of the relative importance of a news story though they may offer frameworks for understanding more quantifiable measures. On the organizational level, while this quantification may be easier as a general trend, operationalization of news values is still also methodologically dependent on human subjective analysis. This type of content analysis, derived by comparing subjective measures like operationalized news valuings to objectively limited measures such as column inches or minutes has been criticized as essentially elemental, providing for limited meaning and relevance. Such is the criticism leveled on early gatekeeping studies such as White's.

The history of economic news content studies details an even poorer record. As Barkin (1982) suggests, "Historically, little research has involved the content of business news or examined how well the coverage reflects economic realities. Interest instead has focused on what needed to be done to make business sections more popular with readers. Most studies of business news performance have either been argumentatively qualitative, grounded in readership studies, or based ... on the responses of editors to questionnaires."[7] And while studies have looked at the general pervasiveness of economic news coverage in media content and at the general trends and changes in the format of economic news presentation in the media, few studies have actually studied economic news on a multi-dimensional level or have quantitatively looked at its correlation with factors outside the newsroom, such as changes in the economy. Typical studies have concluded that many factors may influence economic news content and that a correlation between economic content and economic conditions probably does exist.

In contrast, this study attempts to compare a series of hard, objective, and quantitative measures -- four economic indicators and the results of a public opinion poll, as well as their percentage changes over the study period -- to equally hard, objective, and quantitative measures of economic news content and their changes over the same time period. While critics may argue over the accuracy and meaningfulness of economic indicators and public opinion polls, the question asked is that assuming these measures are fairly accurate, how closely do changes in these measures correlate to changes in economic news contents, and by inference, to changes in economic news gatekeeping?

A handful of studies over the past 30 years do hint at the importance of analyzing the relationship between the factors that may influence what becomes economic news in the mass media. Griggs (1963), in a study of newspaper performance in coverage of the 1957-1958 recession in the United States, concluded that such coverage could be improved in its quality and timeliness by more attention to economic indicators.[8] Dominick (1981) found that the amount of "bad" news about business on the three television network newscasts during the period of 1977 to 1979 heavily outweighed the amount of "neutral" and "positive" news.[9] Barkin and Gurevitch (1987), also analyzing economic coverage on the network news, specifically unemployment news during 1983, concluded that while such coverage lent few specific explanations for the unfortunate economic condition, many explanative frameworks were offered.[10]

In an analysis of sources used in four national media vehicles' coverage of the 1987 stock market crash, Lasora and Reese (1990) proposed that consensus in the use of sources of economic news opinion had important implications on the flows of potentially influential information in American society.[11] Also important and potentially groundbreaking is Sparkes (1978), in which news flows between Canada and the United States were analyzed in terms of specific economic measures related to the two countries.[12]

Danielian, et al. (1987) attempts a more direct and quantitative examination of the correlation between the gatekeeping choices in news content and the possible socioeconomic factors in that coverage. Analyzing world affairs news content of The New York Times and the three network newscasts, Danielian, et al concluded that deviance in such news coverage was apparently affected by several economic factors related to such news.[13] While Danielian, et al. concentrate on international news instead of economic news, their findings point to an important stepping stone for further study laid down by Griggs (1963) and Sparkes (1978) that this study attempts to follow up; that is, that news gatekeeping as represented by changes in measures of economic news content can be directly tied in a broad sense to measures of change and activity in the economy.

On a related avenue, Brown (1979) delves into the possible relationships that exist between socioeconomic forces external to news organizations, such as national birth, unemployment, and savings rates, and the news gatekeeping decisions of the two newsmagazines used in this study, Time and Newsweek. Tracking coverage of family planning and population news over a thirty year period, Brown found that strong correlations between some of these factors and their related news contents did exist. Brown draws from a consolidation of Lewin's writing published posthumously in 1951, which combined three early Lewin works published in the period 1943-

1947 that introduced the gatekeeping concept. Referring to the Lewin text, Brown contends that David Manning White, in his early newspaper gatekeeping research, erred in his fundamental understanding of Lewin. Brown writes that White ignored a facet of Lewin's concept of gatekeeping that contended that "gate sections are governed either by impartial rules or by 'gatekeepers.'"[14] In doing so, Brown contends White overlooked some of the determinants of gatekeeping activity, such as social forces, which Brown uses as a fundament of his research. Brown writes that while his study "is limited to a single topic, the correlation with particular societal factors in the extended environment over long periods indicates that gatekeeping in this area, far from being a random process, faithfully mirrors the perceptions of the society."[15]

After Brown's work, some recent work also suggests the importance of analyzing the potential correlation of news content production with external forces to the newsroom, predominantly public opinion. Included are studies such as Johnston (1989), who concluded that the media's interest in the drug crisis as measured by its production of news content about the crisis lagged behind the growing social dimensions of the crisis by about five years.[16] Similar studies as Johnston's explore the potential role of the agenda setting function of the press in setting public opinion directions by looking at time correlations of opinion and news content,[17] which while positing an effects relationship draws attention to gatekeeping as a regulating factor in information flow.

Lewin's interest in the gatekeeping process arose out of his attempt to better understand the process and patterns of social change, and the broader application of the gatekeeping process is relevant there both in terms of communication processes and their effects. Lewin's work is also relevant as it relates to the process of communication and its study, or as he writes, for understanding the "traveling of a news item through certain communication channels."[18] Believing that the implications of his understanding of the gatekeeping process lie in an understanding of field theory and the "constellations of forces" that affect life in any social setting were critical in understanding his model, Lewin writes that "one should view the present situation -- the status quo -- as being maintained by certain conditions or forces. A culture -- for instance, the food habits of a given group at a given time -- is not a static affair but a live process like a river which moves but still keeps a recognizable form. In other words, we have to deal, in group life as in individual life, with what is known in physics as 'quasi-stationary' processes ... Therefore, to predict what changes in conditions will have what result we have to conceive of the life of the group as the result of specific constellations of forces within a larger setting. In other words, scientific predictions or advice for methods of change should be based on an analysis of the 'field as a whole,' including both its psychological and non-psychological aspects."[19]

Analyzing news contents as products of Lewin's original gatekeeping model, where a variety of factors -- internal and external, direct and indirect -- affect the "field" surrounding the individual gatekeeper and the organization as a gatekeeper appears an important research process overlooked in the past few years. As Shoemaker writes of the gatekeeping process, "The individual gatekeeper has likes and dislikes, ideas about the nature of his or her job, ways of thinking about a problem, preferred decision making strategies, and values that all impinge on the decision to reject or select (and shape) a message. But the gatekeeper is not totally free to follow a personal whim; he or she must operate within the constraints of communication routines to do things this way or that. All of this also must occur within the framework of the communication organization, which has its own priorities but also is continuously buffeted by influential forces from outside the organization. And, of course, none of these actors -- the individual, the routine, the organization, or the social institution -- can escape the fact that it is tied to and draws its sustenance from the social system."[20]

Brown's clarification of Lewin's concept also speaks to the importance of two factors within the gatekeeping process White overlooked; that is, the influence of forces outside the individual, such as social forces, and the efficiency of the channeling process within any specific gatekeeping process. As Brown suggests, following Lewin, information flow and selection, as they are governed by the gatekeeping process, are products of a number of variables of multiple complexity. As Shoemaker and Reese (1990) point out in seeming agreement and while imploring the development of more sophisticated and systematic research paradigms for content analyses, that "although many content analyses have been carried out on newspapers, television, and magazines, these have been largely descriptive and are not often linked in any systematic way to either the forces that created the content or to its effects."[21]

This observation is brought into sharp focus by looking at almost all past research on economic news content as Barkin (1982) indicates. Typical of the direction Barkin describes these studies have taken are Hubbard

(1966), a profile of business news editors based on the results of a survey[22]; Myers (1978) and (1982), examinations of the prevalence of economics as a subject for newspaper editorials in 1976 and 1980 respectively[23]; Feldman and Aronoff (1980), a trend analysis of business and economics news coverage[24]; and Hynds (1980), a review of the results of a survey of business editors on business news coverage.[25] None of these studies departs in any way from a basic look at economic news, approaching the subject largely in a functional and occupational approach to journalism while ignoring larger issues that such work as Barkin and Shoemaker and Reese suggest be explored.

Griggs (1963), too, in spite of its early publication date, offers like Brown another curiously unexplored avenue of early research. In that Griggs' study suggests the importance and makes actual use of economic indicators in analyzing economic news contents, its bold precedence and rich research aesthetics in light of its time period provide many opportunities for extension forward. Examining newspaper coverage of the 1957-58 recession, Griggs (1963) tested the hypothesis that coverage of related economic issues should directly correlate to economic indicators measuring the severity of the recession, concluding to some extent that they did.[26] Underlying Griggs' study is a base in journalistic social and professional responsibility theory suggesting the importance of economic news to the public. While this base is somewhat limited in that Griggs presents it in relation to a qualitative examination of the coverage and not to its broader implications to communications processes, Griggs' use of economic indicators in his methodology should be marked as a major stepping stone in such research.

METHODOLOGY

The goal then of this study is to establish whether there exist correlative relationships between variables reflecting U.S. domestic economic conditions and those reflecting U.S. public opinion on those economic conditions with variables representing measures of economic news contents from Time and Newsweek during the study period 1971-1990. This goal was established to provide potential research answers to the question of whether economic news contents in these magazines themselves represent a so-called "mirror of reality" and whether such evaluation may provide an understanding of the gatekeeping processes ongoing in the production of these news contents at these newsmagazines.

With U.S. circulations of 4.1 million and 3.2 million copies respectively as of the end of 1991, and total potential readership perhaps several times that,[27] Time and Newsweek present important and potentially large influences upon American society. Borrowing from Brown's direction and the direction of these more recent studies but focusing instead on economic news gatekeeping, this study looks at the production of economic news contents at Time and Newsweek with some methodological variations. Where Brown attempted to correlate changes in family planning and population news content to such things as changes in the birth rate, this study attempts to correlate changes in economic news content to changes in the economy and in public opinion about the economy, with the primary difference in the studies being the basic content analysis employed. Also, while Brown (1979) used as its content analysis unit a frequency of items culled from news indices of Time and Newsweek, this study uses measures primarily based in a content analysis of cover stories in these two same newsmagazines.

As such, four distinct phases of data collection were undertaken. The first involved the collection and manipulation of economic statistical information related to the study period. Data was compiled for four economic indicators -- the consumer and producer price indices, and the prime and discount interest rates -- and for their percentage changes over the study period on a 1987 constant dollar basis. The second phase of data collection consisted of the compilation and manipulation of Gallup Poll information from the study period. Two Gallup measures were used; the answers to the "most important problem" facing America question and the answers to similar Gallup survey questions asking respondents their views on how their personal economic condition was in relation to a year ago and to how it would be a year from now.

Results of these measures were averaged by the year and percentage changes for these measures were also calculated. Additionally, two cumulative indices were produced by multiplying the nominal and percentage change data for each of the four economic indicators and the results of the "most important problem" data by each other.

Phase three of the data collection was a content analysis based in an electronic database search of the Magazine Database for all stories in Time and Newsweek that had "United States economic conditions" as their subject heading during the study period. This content analysis was used as an analytic comparison against the last phase of data collection, a physical content analysis of all Time and Newsweek cover stories and issues over the study period.

The aim of this last phase of data collection was to determine which covers and cover stories related U.S. economic conditions as their dominant focus. Data collected during this phase included information on cover story and issue size, cover valence, economic topic focus, and economic theme covered by the issue. Results of this analysis were tabulated by year in nominal values and in percentage changes for each magazine and then for the two magazines as a unit. The reliability of data collected in this phase of data collection was checked by comparing an nth sampling of the study period obtained by a research assistant to the data collected by the study's author, which revealed relatively high levels of intercoder reliability for most of the content variables. Notable, however, in its low level of intercoder reliability were the results of thematic analysis, suggesting further that highly subjectively oriented content analysis variables, such as theme, lends itself to difficult-to-use and potentially meaningless data.

The reasons for performing a content analysis of these magazine covers and cover stories are varied, because while content analysis of magazine covers and cover stories has not been a widely used approach, studies of mass circulation consumer magazines such as Time and Newsweek may be best served by them. It is widely accepted that editors of magazines, including Time and Newsweek, as well as most other major newsmagazines, select covers and cover stories both for competitive and commercial reasons and that this has import. These absolute gatekeeping choices are perhaps the most important reflections of the overall gatekeeping process at these magazines. There is one cover on a magazine and one cover only. In newsmagazines like Time and Newsweek, where the preponderance of covers is dominated or totally restricted to one issue, theme, event, or personality, cover stories are an important manifestation of the respective gatekeeping processes for individual issues and as a general trend over time. An example of a recent study to employ a content analysis of cover stories is Dye and Harmon (1986), who analyzed covers and cover stories of TV Guide.[28] Dye and Harmon argue that the commercial importance of the cover and cover story to a magazine make them worthy "units of analysis" of a content analysis.[29] Other studies conclude the methodology is also theoretically sound.[30]

Data from the four phases of data collection and manipulation resulted in the compilation of 68 measures over 20 years, or 1360 individual measures. This data was assembled using SuperCalc 4 for DOS and statistically analyzed using SPSS for Windows version 6.0 on an IBM PC compatible. Three varieties of bivariate correlation analyses were then performed on these four sets of data: (1) Pearson; (2) Kendall's tau-b rank order; and (3) Spearman rank order. Correlation analyses were performed using both one and two-tailed significance testing, but in all cases excluded cases pairwise in the event of missing values. In addition, multiple linear regression analysis was performed on a selected group of variables to aid in the evaluation of the existence of potential canonical correlations. Selected results of the Pearson bivariate correlation coefficient computations using one-tailed significance testing are contained in Table 1 and are graphically illustrated for Newsweek on Chart 1. R-squared values for the relationships contained on Table 1 are contained on Table 2.

FINDINGS

Are the covers of Time and Newsweek "mirrors of reality" that represent a reflection of the external forces of economic conditions and public opinion on economic conditions that are illuminated in the contents produced in these newsmagazines' internal gatekeeping processes? Do significant correlative relationships exist between the changes in U.S. domestic economic conditions and U.S. public opinion on domestic economic conditions and measures of economic news contents based on the cover story or some other measure of economic news content as the relative units of comparison?

The findings of this study would suggest that the answers to both of these questions are in the affirmative. Both parametric (Pearson) and non-parametric (Kendall's tau-b and Spearman) correlation analyses indicate that economic news contents as reflected by measures related to the cover stories, and in some cases, by the number of economic stories overall, in both Time and Newsweek exhibit significantly high correlative relationships with changes in U.S. domestic economic conditions and public opinion on those conditions.

Some of the relationships are quite striking, serving to strongly suggest that the use of the methodologies employed in this study, while relatively underemployed in previous studies indeed provide meaningful ways of examining the relationships between news contents and other measures of "reality." Particularly noteworthy are the correlative relationships that seem to exist between the appearance of economic cover stories on both Time and Newsweek and the economic and public opinion variables used in the study. As the data on Table 1 illustrates, the appearance of U.S. economic conditions as the focus of cover stories in Time, Newsweek, and the two magazines as a combined unit exhibits a statistically significant correlative relationship to a high number of the economic, public opinion, and cumulative index variables.

Of the 20 such variables used in this study, highly significant correlative relationships (significance <= 0.01) existed among 12 of the variables and the total number of economic cover stories in Newsweek and significant correlative relationships (significance <= 0.05) existed for another two of the 20. When eliminating the use of the total of all responses to the Gallup "most important problem" question, which was predominantly used to compute relative changes in the survey responses, and the two cumulative indices developed for this study, the appearance of economic cover stories provided statistically significant correlative relationships for a full 14 of the 17 or 82 percent of the other variables used to compare cover stories in Newsweek. Similar, though not as significant results, were observed for Time individually and for Time and Newsweek combined.

Examples of these relationships are graphically illustrated on Chart 1, which depicts the relationship between the inflation rate (percentage change in the 1987-based consumer price index) compared with the total appearance of economic cover stories in Time, in Newsweek, and in the two magazines combined, and on Chart 2, which depicts a number of different possible curve interpolations for the relationship between inflation and the appearance of economic cover stories in Time and Newsweek as a combined unit. As these charts illustrate, it would seem that the anecdotal suggestion that the number of economic cover stories should change in some correlative relationship to a change in a related measure of economic conditions, such as the inflation rate, would seem to be backed up by the empirical evidence provided by this study.

For the Magazine Database-based variables, correlation analyses indicated that the most highly correlative and statistically significant relationships existed between the non-content variables and the Magazine Database-based variables representing the total story counts for each of the magazines and for the two combined. These relationships were observed in contrast to the relationships between the non-content variables and the Magazine Database-based data on the appearance of overall economic stories, which were for the most part, not highly correlative or statistically significant.

The nature of these relationships derived from the content analysis of the Magazine Database are in some ways troubling when looked at in comparison with the results of Brown (1979), which found that a correlative relationship existed between several socioeconomic variables and the number of family planning items found in his content analysis. A pure extension of Brown's work into the methodologies used in this study would suggest that the opposite correlation results obtained via the content analysis of the Magazine Database would be true. However, assuming the results of this study's content analysis based in the Magazine Database search and the results of Brown's content analysis are accurate, the nature of these opposing relationships may suggest something entirely other than a weakness in the methodology employed. What these opposing results may suggest is that as many have researchers suggested, it is the unit of content used in a content analysis that is the most critical and influential on the outcome of inferences drawn from any content analysis results. That is, that in a search for relationships between content and non-content variables that the most important concern may be the isolation of those content variables that most truly reflect the changes in the non-content variables, and then, to determine the reasons why.

This supposition may be further buttressed by the contrasting results of Brown (1979) and the results of this study, which indicates that cover story-based content variables were more relative for establishing whether correlative relationships exist between news content variables and non-content variables. The reasons for this contrast may exist in the nature of the media or the non-content factors studied in any content analysis. For instance, while the number of family planning news items in newspapers may be the appropriate unit of analysis for establishing correlative relationships, a similar study using another socioeconomic or sociopolitical factor, such as divorce rates, for example, in another type of media, such as television, for example, may be the appropriate choice for that study. And while this study supports both Johnson and Christ (1988) and Dye and Harmon (1986) in their suggestion that the most relevant unit of content in a content analysis of magazines is the cover story, that may not hold true in every case.

What did hold true in this study was that cover story-based content variables from the physical content analysis proved very reliable in establishing correlative relationships between this study's variables. While results for Time were not as strong as for Newsweek, many of the 33 content variables studied for each individual magazine and for the magazines as a group provided a high number of statistically significant correlative relationships. Chief among the more significantly correlative variables used individually for Time, Newsweek, and the two magazines combined were six variables -- the total number of inflation-related cover stories, the total number of economic-related cover stories, the total number of pages for economic-related cover stories, the summary of economic-related cover valences, the percentage change in the summary of economic-related cover valences, and the number of total issue pages with economic cover stories on the issue. The relatively highly overall statistically significant correlative nature of many of the relationships expressed by these variables -- five of the six which are nominal number variables -- suggests that conducting similar correlative analyses may be best be done by comparing content measures based in actual counts versus content measures determined by calculation, such as percentages or percentage changes.

Of the four economic indicators and their percentage changes, statistically significant correlations appeared strongest when using the consumer and producer price indices and their percentage changes. Of the public opinion poll data, the strongest relationships were observed in the comparison of the variables representing the nominal value of both inflation-related and overall economic-related responses to the "most important problem" question, in the comparison of the percentage of economic responses to the total of all responses to the "most important problem" question, and in the comparison of all four responses to the two poll questions asking direct comments on the economy, which can be paraphrased as, "was last year better or worse," and as, "will next year be better or worse."

These results perhaps provide some of the most important findings of this study. In that the definition of "news" commonly centers on the role of the relative "impact" of that news on the public, it would seem realistic that for the "public" that reads Time and Newsweek that price changes, as represented by measures relating to the consumer and producer price indices, would be the economic forces having the most "impact." Similarly, it would seem that both the nominal value of inflation and of economics overall as responses to the "most important problem" question, the relative importance of economic problems among other responses obtained from that question, and the related pessimism or optimism expressed by public opinion on the two questions sampling opinion on the year's present economic conditions would be perhaps the most appropriate relative measures of the "impact" of domestic economic conditions affecting the American public.

An interesting outgrowth of the responses to the Gallup questions on present economic conditions as they relate to this study's attempt to correlate changes in public opinion forces to changes in news contents arises when two of the four responses are used together. Correlation between the responses as "better" to "a year ago" and to "next year" is highly positive and statistically significant, as is the correlation between the responses as "worse" to "a year ago" and to "next year." When the two "better" responses and the two "worse" responses were used together as the independent variables in a linear regression analysis with economic cover stories as the dependent variable, the resulting coefficients of determination (r^2) were also extremely positive and statistically significant.

Separately used in bivariate correlation analyses, the "better" responses produce similar and highly negative statistically significant correlation coefficients (r), while the "worse" responses produce similar highly positive and statistically significant correlation coefficients. This would indicate that economic covers as a dependent variable on the independent variables "better" and "worse" moves in a highly positive correlation when public opinion becomes increasingly satisfied with the present year by responding that last year was and next year will be "worse," and moves in a highly negative correlation when public opinion becomes increasingly unsatisfied with the present year by responding that last year was and next year will be "better." In other words, the more public opinion reflects increasing dissatisfaction with the past's economic conditions, apprehension about the future's, or satisfaction with the present's -- in essence, a sense of potentially changing economic conditions, the more cover stories about economics will appear. This, again, would tend to support anecdotal theories on news coverage with empirical evidence.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study's findings provide strong evidence to support the hypothesis examined by this study; that is, that changes in economic news contents, as reflected by measures of economic news contents in Time and Newsweek, do correlate highly and on a statistically significant level to changes in U.S. domestic economic conditions and domestic public opinion on those economic conditions. Newsweek showed the most prevalent correlations, with Time and Newsweek combined together as one unit second, and then Time individually third.

The suggestion that the gatekeeping process provides a regulation of the flow of information -- in both a restrictive and in a non-restrictive way -- also tends to be supported. This is indicated by an examination of the correlations between individual measures of content and non-content taken across the board for the two magazines individually and taken together as a whole. For a high percentage of the correlations, especially in the cases of statistically significant correlations, the relationships expressed bear remarkable concordance. That is, that when correlation one of the non-content variables with the same content variable for each of Time, Newsweek, and the magazines taken as a group, these coefficients largely indicate the same direction of the correlative relationship, either in a negative or positive direction. This would indicate that the premise that economic news contents are a "mirror of reality" of economic conditions and public opinion on those conditions is to a good degree true. This overall result does lead to speculation as to whether the use of different statistical analyses might better indicate the actual relationships involved. Some of the relationships may involve curvilinear, exponential, or some other types of relationships not best analyzed in bivariate correlation analysis or in linear multiple regression. These potential relationships may perhaps be illustrated by some of those depicted in Chart 2, which show a number of possible curve fits for the relationship of Newsweek economic cover stories to the inflation rate. Several of these curve fittings indicate that better fits for the types of relationships examined in this study may be other than straight linear relationships.

To account for some of these possibilities, a number of alternate statistical analyses using a variety of data transformations and significance testing were performed in addition to the strict parametric bivariate correlation and linear regression analyses. These included the use of rank order Kendall's tau-b and Spearman bivariate correlations, which use a ranking of data points in their calculations instead of the nominal values, as well as the use of log (10) transformation of the study's data and the use of both one and two-tail testing. Each of these statistical variations did provide slight changes in the results of the analyses, but did not change the general thrust of the results.

Still, the resulting variations in statistical analysis results may indicate again that the nature of the "mirror of reality" concept lies in what is being reflected in the mirror, what is the nature of the resulting reflection that can take place, and what is the nature of the mirror itself. Additionally, time may be a factor, accounting for a lagging or leading of some of the data involved in the statistical analyses.

It would appear further that the methodology employed by this study, a spin-off of the approach in Brown (1979) used to analyze the correlative extent of content to external forces completed through a variation of Johnson and Christ (1988) and Dye and Harmon (1986) is sound, as it uncovered a number of highly correlative and significant relationships. At the basis of this cross of methodologies is Brown (1979), whose Lewin-influenced ideas assert that external forces affect the gatekeeping process and are involved in the production of news. Supporting this notion are both

Johnson and Christ (1988) and Dye and Harmon (1986), who argue that the cover and cover story of a magazine stand as important measures of content. Both arguments appear to hold.

Statistically, the analyses performed in this study indicate that there are a fairly high number of statistically significant correlative relationships that exist between the content and non-content variables in this study. Content measures, especially the number of economic cover stories, showed an extremely high correlative relationship across a great number of the economic and public opinion indicators. This may indicate that the gatekeeping process as it is influenced by the external forces of economic conditions and economic public opinion was fairly efficient in bringing economic news to news gatekeepers at Time and Newsweek during the study period.

The resulting implications are diverse and important. For journalism itself, the evidence this study provides would suggest that journalists and journalism organizations, as represented by those of Time and Newsweek, are reading economic concerns in a fairly "perceptive" way, so that the resulting news contents they produce meet the important test of having reported news that bears "impact" to the public. Further, the results would indicate that in spite of criticisms of the popular news media that the news media, as represented by these two newsmagazines, are portraying an accurate picture of economic concerns, as measured against changes in the economy and in public opinion.

For education, and specifically for journalism education, this study's findings indicate that the complex issues of economics present many challenges for news gatherers, reporters, and editors, as well as for their audiences. At a fundamental core is the question of whether reporting of economic news outside the presentation of raw statistics can be anything but distorted pictures of reality. While it would seem that this study's data suggests that changes in economic news contents often do match changes in the economy and in public opinion about the economy, the measures used in this study were largely of the depth and breadth of coverage and not of its inherent meanings, leaving open the question of how such news is interpreted and decoded. More work needs to be done using similar methodologies to uncover the potential relationships that exist between economic news messages, our economic performance and perceptions, and what can be done to improve the news media's performance in bringing this vital information to the public.

Beyond the sociopolitical and socioeconomic implications of this study's findings for journalists and for journalism educators are perhaps the implications for our understanding of the flow of information in our society and for our understanding of information itself. In an era where information seems abundant, perhaps overabundant, the necessity of being able to pick and choose among messages and then to decode and interpret those selected messages appears crucial. This study indicates that while economic news information potentially flows in potentially highly understandable directions, the complex and voluminous nature of such information may force the news media to play an increasing important role in effectively delivering this information to the public, a role that should not ever be discounted or diminished, and one that may significantly affect the future direction and health of our economy.

TABLE 1

Pearson Bivariate Correlation Coefficients (R Values) For Relationships Between Economic Cover Totals & The Economic And Public Opinion Indicators

ACTUAL DATA

	LOG (10) TRANSFORMATIONS			ACTUAL DATA		
INDICATOR	NEWS	TIME	BOTH	NEWS	TIME	BOTH
CPI	-0.3466	-0.6194*	-0.5866**	-0.3253	-0.4700*	-0.4370
CPICHG	0.6035*	0.2601	0.5666*	0.6797**	0.3655	0.6202**
PPI	-0.2025	-0.6854**	-0.4725*	-0.1922	-0.4294	-0.3304
PPICHG	0.4839	0.4529	0.4031	0.6481**	0.2901	0.5636**
DIS	0.6084*	-0.3109	0.4180	0.6587**	0.1515	0.5047*
DISCHG	0.5134*	0.3940	0.2938	0.5910**	0.2329	0.4989*
PRI	0.5116*	-0.3352	0.2796	0.5897**	0.0404	0.4065
PRICHG	0.5331*	0.3453	0.2966	0.5935**	0.2185	0.4937*
GIN	0.7142**	0.2602	0.6908**	0.6861**	0.3883	0.6352**
GEC	0.6557**	-0.1913	0.6390**	0.5679**	0.3646	0.5463*
GECCHG	0.2210	0.4263	0.3837	0.2832	0.4616*	0.4054
GTO	0.2726	0.2060	0.3683	0.2772	0.3150	0.3318
GPE	0.6157*	-0.3700	0.5583*	0.5151*	0.2816	0.4722*
GPECHG	0.2810	0.7395**	0.5445*	0.3711	0.6837**	0.5687**
CUM	0.4735	-0.4412	0.2572	0.5168*	-0.0100	0.3347
PCT	0.2604	0.2464	0.2460	0.2742	0.2415	0.2949
YAB	-0.6871*	0.2158	-0.6781*	-0.6677**	-0.1922	-0.5510*
YAW	0.7014*	-0.0290	0.7174**	0.6970**	0.4438	0.6749**
NYB	-0.8422**	-0.1218	-0.8303**	-0.7560**	-0.4680	-0.7266**
NYW	0.8472**	0.3098	0.7949**	0.7901**	0.6557*	0.8278**

LOG (10) TRANSFORMED DATA

	LOG (10) TRANSFORMATIONS			ACTUAL DATA		
INDICATOR	NEWS	TIME	BOTH	NEWS	TIME	BOTH
CPI	-0.2562	-0.6494**	-0.5088*	-0.2683	-0.4359	-0.3834
CPICHG	0.5969*	0.2409	0.5350*	0.6726**	0.3034	0.5860**
PPI	-0.1294	-0.6924**	-0.4085	-0.1469	-0.4018	-0.2874
PPICHG	0.4159	0.6305*	0.3229	0.4574	0.3164	0.4410
DIS	0.5876*	-0.3601	0.3885	0.6311**	0.1417	0.4819*
DISCHG	0.7708*	0.8829**	0.6173	0.6800*	0.6887*	0.7007*
PRI	0.4752	-0.3957	0.2263	0.5401*	0.0201	0.3644
PRICHG	0.7196*	0.9249**	0.7382*	0.7701*	0.8213**	0.8154**
GIN	0.7631**	0.4196	0.8718**	0.6746**	0.6087**	0.7124**
GEC	0.6518**	-0.2685	0.6176**	0.5194*	0.3527	0.5088*
GECCHG	0.0159	0.2854	0.1559	-0.0619	0.3288	0.1244
GTO	0.2844	0.2008	0.4166	0.2800	0.3471	0.3488
GPE	0.5845*	-0.4263	0.5167*	0.4464*	0.2597	0.4166
GPECHG	0.0950	0.5461	0.1255	0.0657	0.3085	0.1999
CUM	0.3376	-0.6193*	0.0692	0.3121	-0.0927	0.1610
PCT	0.5586	0.5182	0.7180*	0.5413	0.5456	0.5412
YAB	-0.6624*	0.2400	-0.6512*	-0.6569*	-0.1770	-0.0096
YAW	0.7269*	0.0216	0.7597**	0.7018**	0.4938	0.1668
NYB	-0.8425**	-0.1654	-0.8171**	-0.7712**	-0.4774	-0.4386
NYW	0.8710**	0.3483	0.8321**	0.7695**	0.7066**	0.4120

* = Significance <= 0.05 ** = Significance <= 0.01
(2-tailed, pairwise deletion)

NEWS = Newsweek TIME = Time BOTH = Newsweek & Time

Indicator variable names defined on Table 3

TABLE 2

Pearson Bivariate Correlation
Coefficients Of Determination (R-Square Values)
For Relationships Between Economic Cover Totals & The Economic And Public Opinion Indicators (From Table 1)

ACTUAL DATA

	LOG (10) TRANSFORMATIONS			ACTUAL DATA		
INDICATOR	NEWS	TIME	BOTH	NEWS	TIME	BOTH
CPI	0.1201	0.3837	0.3441	0.1058	0.2209	0.1910
CPICHG	0.3642	0.0677	0.3210	0.4620	0.1336	0.3846
PPI	0.0410	0.4698	0.2233	0.0369	0.1844	0.1092
PPICHG	0.2342	0.2051	0.1625	0.4200	0.0842	0.3176
DIS	0.3702	0.0967	0.1747	0.4339	0.0230	0.2547
DISCHG	0.2636	0.1552	0.0863	0.3493	0.0542	0.2489
PRI	0.2617	0.1124	0.0782	0.3477	0.0016	0.1652
PRICHG	0.2842	0.1192	0.0880	0.3522	0.0477	0.2437
GIN	0.5101	0.0677	0.4772	0.4707	0.1508	0.4035
GEC	0.4299	0.0366	0.4083	0.3225	0.1329	0.2984
GECCHG	0.0488	0.1817	0.1472	0.0802	0.2131	0.1643
GTO	0.0743	0.0424	0.1356	0.0768	0.0992	0.1101
GPE	0.3791	0.1369	0.3117	0.2653	0.0793	0.2230
GPECHG	0.0790	0.5469	0.2965	0.1377	0.4674	0.3234
CUM	0.2242	0.1947	0.0662	0.2671	0.0001	0.1120
PCT	0.0678	0.0607	0.0605	0.0752	0.0583	0.0870
YAB	0.4721	0.0466	0.4598	0.4458	0.0369	0.3036
YAW	0.4920	0.0008	0.5147	0.4858	0.1970	0.4555
NYB	0.7093	0.0148	0.6894	0.5715	0.2190	0.5279
NYW	0.7177	0.0960	0.6319	0.6243	0.4299	0.6853

LOG (10) TRANSFORMED DATA

	LOG (10) TRANSFORMATIONS			ACTUAL DATA		
INDICATOR	NEWS	TIME	BOTH	NEWS	TIME	BOTH
CPI	0.0656	0.4217	0.2589	0.0720	0.1900	0.1470
CPICHG	0.3563	0.0580	0.2862	0.4524	0.0921	0.3434
PPI	0.0167	0.4794	0.1669	0.0216	0.1614	0.0826
PPICHG	0.1730	0.3975	0.1043	0.2092	0.1001	0.1945
DIS	0.3453	0.1297	0.1509	0.3983	0.0201	0.2322
DISCHG	0.5941	0.7795	0.3811	0.4624	0.4743	0.4910
PRI	0.2258	0.1566	0.0512	0.2917	0.0004	0.1328
PRICHG	0.5178	0.8554	0.5449	0.5931	0.6745	0.6649
GIN	0.5823	0.1761	0.7600	0.4551	0.3705	0.5075
GEC	0.4248	0.0721	0.3814	0.2698	0.1244	0.2589
GECCHG	0.0003	0.0815	0.0243	0.0038	0.1081	0.0155
GTO	0.0809	0.0403	0.1736	0.0784	0.1205	0.1217
GPE	0.3416	0.1817	0.2670	0.1993	0.0674	0.1736
GPECHG	0.0090	0.2982	0.0158	0.0043	0.0952	0.0400
CUM	0.1140	0.3835	0.0048	0.0974	0.0086	0.0259
PCT	0.3120	0.2685	0.5155	0.2930	0.2977	0.2929
YAB	0.4388	0.0576	0.4241	0.4315	0.0313	0.0001
YAW	0.5284	0.0005	0.5771	0.4925	0.2438	0.0278
NYB	0.7098	0.0274	0.6677	0.5947	0.2279	0.1924
NYW	0.7586	0.1213	0.6924	0.5921	0.4993	0.1697

NEWS = Newsweek TIME = Time BOTH = Newsweek & Time
Indicator variable names defined on Table 3

TABLE 3

Key To Indicator Variable Names
Contained In Tables 1 & 2

INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION
CPI	Consumer Price Index (1987 Base)
CPICHG	% Change in CPI
PPI	Producer Price Index (1987 Base)
PPICHG	% Change in PPI
DIS	Discount Rate (1987 Base)
DISCHG	% Change in DIS
PRI	Prime Rate (1987 Base)
PRICHG	% Change in PRI
GIN	"Inflation" as Gallup "Most Important Problem"
GEC	"Economics" as Gallup "Most Important Problem"
GECCHG	% Change in GEC
GTO	Total of all responses to Gallup "Most Important Problem"
GPE	% GEC of GTO
GPECHG	% Change in GPE
CUM	Cumulative Index
PCT	Percentage Index
YAB	Gallup "Year Ago Better"
YAW	Gallup "Year Ago Worse"
NYB	Gallup "Next Year Better"
NYW	Gallup "Next Year Worse"

CHART 1

Plot Of Total Economic Cover Stories
In Time, Newsweek, And The Two Magazines Combined
Versus The Inflation Rate

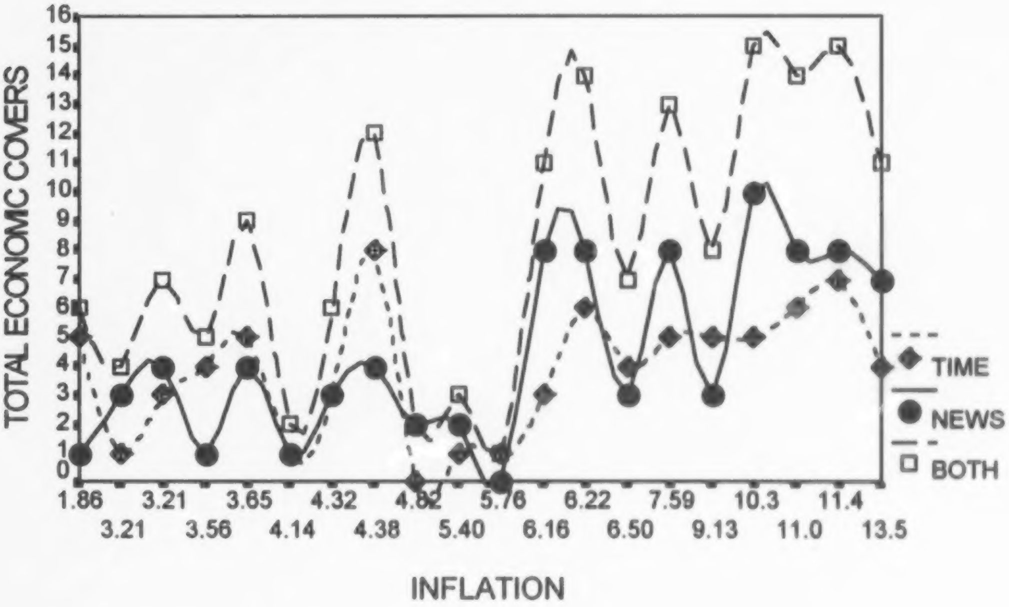
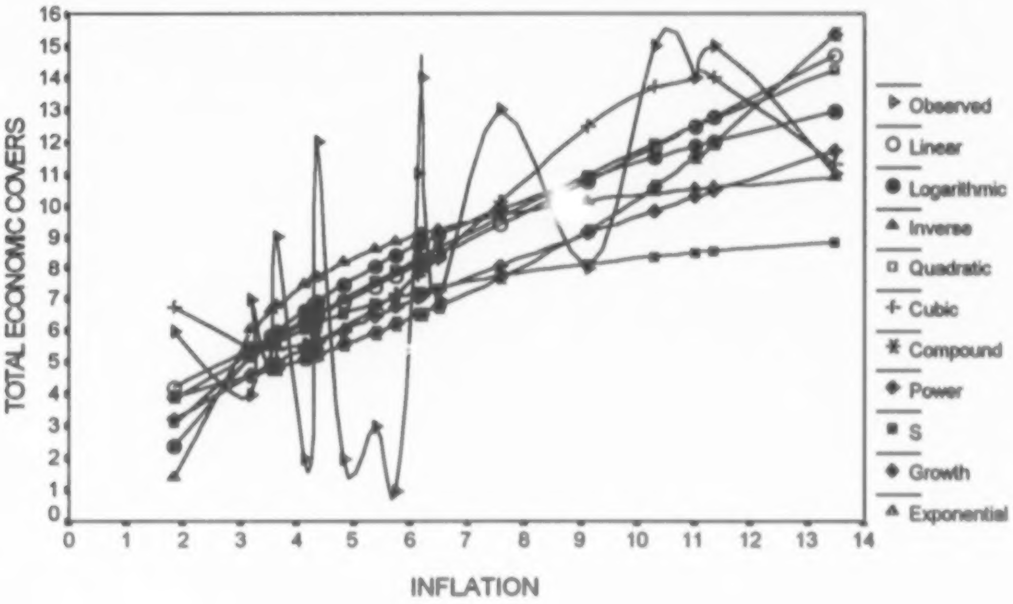


CHART 2

Plot Of Potential Curve Fits For Relationship
Between Total Economic Cover Stories
In *Time* And *Newsweek* Combined
Versus The Inflation Rate



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